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# FRANCISCAN STUDIES

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VOLUME 23

NEW SERIES, VOLUME 2

NUMBER 1

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MARY AT THE FOOT OF THE CROSS

David Bair, O. F. M.

ST. BERNARDINE OF SIENA, THE POPULAR PREACHER

Cuthbert Gumbinger, O. F. M. Cap.

RAPHAEL'S DISPUTA

Harry B. Gutman and Philotheus Boehner, O. F. M.

THE *Centiloquium* ATTRIBUTED TO OCKHAM (PART IV)

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SCOTISTIC BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE LAST DECADE (1929-1939) (PART IV)

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FRANCISCANA

BOOK REVIEWS

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A QUARTERLY REVIEW

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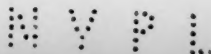
## MARY AT THE FOOT OF THE CROSS

ST. JOHN'S Gospel (19:25) tells us in simple terms that Mary was present at the foot of the cross. The familiar hymn, *Stabat Mater*, recalls this fact in more stirring terms in representing Mary as "sorrowful" and "in tears" while her Son was suspended upon the cross.<sup>1</sup> We can easily imagine the immensity of Mary's sufferings as she stood near the cross and beheld her Divine Son in the agony of death. But she knew what her sufferings meant. Great as was her sorrow and compassion, still greater was her joy that mankind was being delivered from sin and eternal death by the crucifixion of Jesus. Jesus and Mary, Incarnate Son of God and His immaculate Mother, closely associated in the divine decrees from all eternity, were certainly of one mind and one will in seeking the salvation of the human race.

Just what is Mary's part in the plan of Redemption and in the salvation of souls? When God decreed the Incarnation of His Son,

---

1. First stanza: "Stabat Mater dolorosa, Juxta crucem lacrymosa, Dum pendeat Filius." This hymn is generally ascribed to the Franciscan poet, Jacopone da Todi, though it is not improbable that it was composed by St. Bonaventure.



He also decreed that Mary should be His Mother; furthermore, He desired that the Mother of His Son should be a virgin, endowed with a fullness of grace from the first moment of her existence. But God wished too, that Mary should coöperate with Him; He wished that she should give her consent to the Incarnation, and should tenderly care for her Divine Son until the time when God would require of Him the supreme sacrifice of His life for the salvation of the world.

It is evident, therefore, that the Divine Maternity of Mary enters into the divine plan of Redemption. By reason of the Divine Maternity Mary at least remotely coöperated with her Divine Son in the work of saving mankind. This truth is clearly contained in the deposit of revelation, and there can be no difference of opinion concerning it. But one may inquire further whether the intimate association of Mary with Christ also involves a direct or proximate coöperation in the work of Redemption. In answering this question, Catholic theology distinguishes between subjective and objective Redemption.

By *subjective* Redemption theologians understand the application of the merits of Christ to individual souls. There is scarcely a theologian at present who would deny or seriously doubt the teaching that Mary coöperates proximately in our subjective Redemption by applying to us the graces that were merited for us by Christ. Thus Mary is rightly called the Mediatrix of all graces.<sup>2</sup> *Objective* Redemption, on the other hand, is the Redemption of the human race as accomplished by the sacrificial death of Christ on the cross; by this we mean that Jesus Christ, dying for us on the cross, superabundantly satisfied the justice of God for the sins of the whole world and merited grace and glory for all men. May we say that Mary actively and proximately contributed towards the objective Redemption of mankind, so that she can truly be called our Coredemptrix? It is understood that Mary could be regarded as having redeemed the human race together with Christ, only dependently upon Christ and subordinately to Him. Theological opinion is divided concerning this question, but certainly the greater number of theologians favor

2. A feast under this title was approved by Pope Benedict XV and assigned to May 31; it is now observed by many dioceses and religious communities. The *Invitatorium* of Matins, based upon St. Bernard (cf. Lesson 6), is as follows: "Christum Redemptorem, qui bona omnia nos habere voluit per Mariam: Venite, adoremus, alleluja."



the teaching, that Mary should be considered as our Coredemptrix in the strict sense of the term.<sup>3</sup>

Without any doubt, one of the greatest glories of the Franciscan order is that its theologians staunchly defended the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception at a time when some of the greatest minds of the Church doubted or even denied the truth. The fact that the doctrine was not generally accepted or involved difficulties that needed to be clarified, did not deter John Duns Scotus and other great theologians of the Franciscan school from openly defending it. Whenever there has been any question of Mary's greatness and glory, Franciscan theologians have not hesitated to follow the principle enunciated by their great leader: "Si auctoritati Ecclesiae vel auctoritati Scripturae non repugnat, videtur probabile quod excellentius est attribuere Mariae."<sup>4</sup>

Let us leave this principle of the *Doctor Marialis* for the present, and consider what stand Franciscans generally have taken concerning Mary's part in the plan of Redemption. It is clearly expressed in the following words of the Most Reverend Leonardo Bello, Minister General of the Order of Friars Minor:

Electa et praedestinata . . . ut esset caput generis nostri et advocata nostra, Beata Maria Virgo jure Mediatrix universalis insuper pronuntiatur, quia tanquam Coredemptrix, ex redundantia meritorum Christi, omnes ac singulas gratias in totum corpus mysticum Ecclesiae defluentes vere acquisivit, tum radicaliter et remote ratione suae collaborationis Verbi Incarnationi, tum formaliter et proxime propter suam arctissimam associationem ad opus integrum Christi Salvatoris.<sup>5</sup>

That these words represent Franciscan thought, is evident from the subsequent discussion of the doctrine of Coredemption according to the mind of St. Bonaventure, St. Bernardine of Siena, and others, and

3. Cf. J. Keuppens, *Mariologiae Compendium* (Antwerp, 1938), p. 116; on p. 127 he says: "Si tamen licet uni opinioni favere, quin alteri solidam probabilitatem denegemus, concludendum ducimus affirmativam doctrinam sufficienter validis argumentis fulciri, ut virum serium ad illam inclinet, imo ut probabilior agnoscatur."

4. Cf. Scotus, Ox. III, d. 3, q. 1, n. 10, *Opera*, XIV, 165; cf. S. Bonav., Sent. III, d. 28, a. 1, q. 6, ad V., IV, 497: "Cavendum est diligenter ut honor Dominae nostrae in nullo ab aliquo minuat, qui etiam in periculo capitis debeat integer custodiri."

5. From a letter dated Easter, 1938, addressed to the whole Order of Friars Minor, *Acta Minorum*, May, 1938, p. 142, n. 8; the letter deals primarily with the doctrine of the universal Mediation of the Blessed Virgin, but also discusses ("ad mentem Scholae Franciscanae," p. 138, n. 3) two other doctrines as bases of the universal Mediation, namely, the absolute predestination of Mary as the secondary head of the Mystical Body of Christ and her positive concurrence as Coredemptrix in the work of Redemption.

the general remark towards the end: "Ea enim munera, quae Christus de condigno promeruit, Beata Virgo de congruo saltem acquisivit. Ita censent omnes a Schola nostra Doctores mariani jam inde a saeculo XVII."<sup>6</sup>

Let us return now to the principle of Duns Scotus, that we should probably ascribe to Mary "quod est excellentius," provided it is not opposed to Scripture or to the authority of the Church. Certainly the title of Coredeptrix as ascribed to Mary might well be classified as "excellentius." And it is just as certain, that the doctrine of Coredeption is not only not opposed to Scripture and the authority of the Church, but can be supported by arguments from both sources.

For the Scriptural basis of this teaching it is sufficient to return to our title, "Mary at the Foot of the Cross." There is a wealth of theological implications in these few words. They imply an intimate association of Son and Mother in the great work of Redemption, which was accomplished on Calvary. Theologians speak of a *principium consortii* involved in the doctrine of the Divine Maternity of the Blessed Virgin. God, not by necessity, but by His own free choice, willed to associate Mary with Jesus in the work of our Redemption — not only in part of it, but in the whole of it. By her *fiat* she accepted not merely the dignity of the Mother of God, but also the rights of a Mother, which she alone could renounce. At the Presentation in the temple Mary dedicated her Divine Son to the work of Redemption, for which God sent Him into the world. On Calvary she was certainly not merely a passive witness of the crucifixion; she did not merely suffer intensely on beholding her Son on the cross. She must have renounced her maternal rights, and made an offering of the Divine Victim for the same purpose for which He was laying down His life. By her oblation Mary made satisfaction for our sins, and merited grace and glory at least in equity (*de congruo*) for her fellow-creatures. In a word, she redeemed us together with Christ, though dependently upon Him, and rightly deserves to be called our Coredeptrix.

6. *Ibid.* p. 144. Cf. also "Textus Auctorum in commentarium relati et Fontes," *Acta Minorum*, July, 1938, nn. 71-107. Note the expression, "de congruo saltem acquisivit"; most theologians who admit the teaching speak of a *meritum de congruo* of the Blessed Virgin, but there are some who also speak of a *meritum de condigno*; cf. "Textus etc.," n. 106, as well as the article by Fr. Sylvester O'Brien, O. F. M., in *Irish Eccles. Rev.*, April, 1941, p. 300.



This is not a new teaching, certainly not among Franciscan scholars. St. Bonaventure has this to say of Mary's act of sacrificing her Son on the cross: "Quando enim Christus passus est in cruce ad persolvendum pretium istud, ut nos lavaret, purgaret et redimeret, tunc Beata Virgo fuit praesens, acceptans et concordans voluntati divinae; et placuit ei quod pretium uteri sui offerretur in cruce pro nobis."<sup>7</sup> According to St. Bernardine of Siena, the very consent of Mary to the Incarnation involves an intimate association in the whole work of Redemption, for he says: "Hoc fuit consentire in crucifixum seu crucifigendum et in pretium superabundandae satisfactionis omnium peccatorum et impetrationem ac Mediationem reparationis omnium electorum, ex se et intra se formandum et suscipiendum."<sup>8</sup> Still more significant concerning Mary's part in our objective Redemption is the following statement of St. Lawrence of Brindisi:

Stabat juxta crucem, utique spiritus virtute fulta, spiritu sustentata. Mariae spiritus erat spiritualis sacerdos, sicut crux altare et Christus sacrificium; licet spiritus ipse Christi esset principalis sacerdos, sed spiritus Mariae una erat cum spiritu Christi, immo unus cum eo spiritus erat, una veluti anima in duobus corporibus. Quare spiritus Mariae una cum spiritu Christi, sacerdotali munere juxta aram crucis fungebatur, Christique officium offerebat pro salute mundi aeterno Deo.<sup>9</sup>

It is unnecessary to enter further into the Scriptural support for the doctrine of Coredemption. But is this teaching opposed in any way to the authority of the Church? Certainly not. All the Supreme Pontiffs from Pius IX to the present Holy Father have been sufficiently clear in expressing themselves concerning Mary's share in our Redemption.<sup>10</sup>

7. Cf. *Coll. de donis Spiritus S.*, coll. VI, n. 15, -V, 486; n. 17, the Seraphic Doctor calls Mary "restaurativa honoris Dei substracti et mater consentiens quod Christus in pretium offerretur," and says of her that she made an offering of her own Son, her entire substance. Cf. letter of Father Leonardo Bello, *loc. cit.*, p. 144, as well as "Textus," etc., *loc. cit.*, n. 95, where the author remarks: "Nemo est qui non videat S. Bonaventurae *Collationem VI de donis Spiritus S.* maximum esse documentum saec. XIII de Maria omnium redemptrice."

8. Cf. *De consensu Virg.*, sermo 8, a. 1, c. 1, —IV, 102; cf. sermo 7, a. 1, c. 3, —IV, 99: "Quando consensit, sensit se per suum consensum dedicari et jungi humilitibus et humilibus officiis Redemptoris"; "Textus," etc., *loc. cit.*, n. 77.

9. Cf. *Mariale, Sermo 3 in Salut. Ang.*, 183; "Textus," etc., *loc. cit.*, n. 92.

10. Cf. J. Bittremieux, "Annotationes circa doctrinam B. Mariae Virginis Coredemptricis in Documentis Romanorum Pontificum," *Ephem. Theol. Lovan.*, Oct.-Dec. 1939, p. 745 *et seq.*; the attitude of the present Holy Father is discussed in an article entitled "Pio XII e la Corredenzione di Maria," *Marianum*, Oct. 1939, pp. 361-364. Cf. also Keuppens, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

Pius IX manifested his acceptance of the doctrine of Mary's direct coöperation in our objective Redemption in a letter which he wrote on August 25, 1873, to Mgr. Oswald Van den Berghe, the author of the work, *Marie et le Sacerdoce*.<sup>11</sup> From Leo XIII we have three significant statements. In one case Mary is represented as "consors cum eo [Filio] laboriosae pro humano genere reparationis," not only because of her consent to the Incarnation and on account of the Presentation in the temple, but also because of her oblation on Calvary: "Filius ipsa ultro obtulit iustitiae divinae, cum eo commoriens corde doloris gladio transfixa."<sup>12</sup> At another time he mentions that Mary has been given various titles of praise, such as *Mediatrix*, *Reparatrix totius orbis*, and *Donorum Dei Conciliatrix*, and considers her part in the Redemption to be the very reason for her universal mediation: "... ut, quae sacramenti humanae redemptionis patrandi administra fuerat, eadem gratiae ex illo in omne tempus derivandae esset pariter administra."<sup>13</sup> Finally, Leo XIII could mean only direct participation in our objective Redemption, when he stated of Mary that she is "Redemptionis humanae particeps" and "mysteriis nostrae Redemptionis . . . illa non adfuit tantum, sed interfuit."<sup>14</sup> Pius X also clearly distinguishes between Mary's part in the Redemption and her universal mediation, and makes the latter dependent upon the former. By her union of suffering and love with Jesus she merited to become the "Reparatrix perditis orbis . . . atque ideo universorum munerum dispensatrix"; again, by her sanctity and her intimate association with Christ in the work of salvation, "de congruo, ut aiunt, promeret nobis quae Christus de condigno promeruit, estque princeps largiendarum gratiarum ministra."<sup>15</sup> Benedict XV gives expression to the doctrine

11. Cf. Bittremieux, *loc. cit.*, p. 747, footnote 4 and p. 775. Note also the words of Pius IX in the bull *Ineffabilis Deus*: "Sic sanctissima Virgo arctissimo et indissolubili vinculo cum eo [Christo] conjuncta una cum illo et per illum sempiternas contra venosum serpentem inimicitias exercens, ac de ipso plenissime triumphans illius caput immaculato pede contrivit." Though this could be understood of subjective Redemption only, the intimate association of Mary with Christ in His complete victory over Satan would seem to suppose direct coöperation also in our objective Redemption.

12. Encycl. *Jucunda semper*; Keuppens, *op. cit.*, p. 177, n. 22.

13. Encycl. *Adjuvicem populi*; Keuppens, *op. cit.*, p. 178, n. 28.

14. Encycl. *Parta humano generi*; Keuppens, *loc. cit.*, p. 117.

15. Encycl. *Ad diem illum*; Keuppens, *op. cit.*, p. 176, nn. 14 and 18. Noteworthy are two official documents of the pontificate of Pius X, which refer to Mary as *Coredeptrix*: one is a decree of the Congregation of Rites, May 13, 1908, which raised the feast of the Seven Dolors in September to the rank of a double of the

of Coredemption as clearly as the most ardent advocate of this doctrine, when he says: "Ita cum Filio patiente et moriente passa est et paene commortua, sic materna in Filium jura pro hominum salute abdicavit placandaeque Dei justitiae, quantum ad se pertinebat, Filium immolavit, ut dici merito queat, ipsam cum Christo humanum genus redemisse."<sup>16</sup> Pius XI has left no doubt concerning his position regarding Mary's Coredemption. As a reason for the powerful mediation of the Blessed Virgin for the dying, he cites her part in the Redemption: "Ea potissimum causa innititur, quod Virgo perdolens Redemptionis opus cum Jesu Christo participavit."<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, according to the late Holy Father, Mary is rightly called Reparatrix because of her intimate association with Christ: "Virgo Dei Parens . . . cum Jesum nobis Redemptorem ediderit, aluerit, apud crucem hostiam obtulerit, per arcanam cum Christo conjunctionem ejusdemque gratiam omnino singularem, Reparatrix item exstitit pieque appellatur."<sup>18</sup> Lastly, at the close of the Jubilee year in honor of the Redemption in 1935, Pius XI addressed to Mary the following prayer, in which he undoubtedly associates Mary as Coredemptrix with Christ the Redeemer: "O Mater pietatis et misericordiae, quae dulcissimo Filio tuo humani generis Redemptionem in ara crucis consummanti Compatiens et Coredemptrix adstitisti, . . . conserva in nobis, quaesumus, atque adauge in dies pretiosos Redemptionis et tuae Compassionis fructus. . ."<sup>19</sup>

From the present Holy Father, Pius XII, since his elevation to the Papacy, no pronouncements touching on Mary's Coredemption are available. His views on the subject, however, before he became Pope, are clear, and we have no reason to suppose that he would retract any of his former statements. In a panegyric (in Italian) on the occasion of the seventh centenary of the founding of the Servite order,

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second class; the other is a decree of the Holy Office, June 26, 1913, which granted the same indulgences for invoking the holy names of Jesus and Mary as had been previously granted for invoking the holy name of Jesus alone.

16. *Encycl. Inter sodalicia*; Keuppens, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

17. *Encycl. Explorata res*; Keuppens, *op. cit.*, p. 177, n. 20. A similar dependence of Mary's mediatorial power upon her participation in the Redemption is expressed in a letter of Pius XI to Card. Binet of Besançon in 1933, *Auspiciatus profecto*: "Ideo Christi Mater delecta est ut redimendi generis humani consors efficeretur; ex quo sane tantam apud Filium gratiam potentiamque adeptam est, ut nec humana nec angelica natura assequi unquam possit"; Keuppens, *op. cit.*, pp. 177, n. 21.

18. *Encycl. Misericordissimus Deus*; Keuppens, *op. cit.*, p. 179, n. 33.

19. *L'Osserv. Rom.*, 29-30 April, 1935; Keuppens, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

he speaks of Mary as "Corredentrice del genere umano" and again simply as "Corredentrice."<sup>20</sup> In 1935 at Lourdes, at the closing of the jubilee year, he again refers to Mary twice as Coredemptrix, once in Latin in a discourse to priests and at another time in French.<sup>21</sup> That the present Holy Father (as Cardinal Pacelli) really meant that Mary is Coredemptrix in the strict sense, that she is not merely the dispenser of graces, but also coöperated in their acquisition, we may conclude from a discourse which he delivered in French on December 7, 1937, to the Association of Our Lady of a Happy Death. According to his explanation, there is but one plan of salvation, consisting of two parts, the application of the merits of Christ and their acquisition, and Mary coöperated in both; still more definite is the statement that Mary rejoined her Son on Calvary, and there offered the sacrifice with Him, that though He offered Himself, she also offered her Son for us.<sup>22</sup>

Need we say anything more about the position we should take concerning the doctrine of Mary's Coredemption? It is true, not all of these pronouncements of Supreme Pontiffs are of the same value. Most of them, however, are contained in official documents, in encyclical letters, which are intended to teach the faithful safe and sound doctrine. They may not be infallible declarations, but they are certainly to be received with reverence as coming from the highest teaching authority in the Church. Furthermore, these papal pronouncements give us the assurance that we are not treading on dangerous ground in upholding the doctrine of Coredemption. It is futile to object that the Sovereign Pontiffs did not mean this or that.

20. Cf. Card. E. Pacelli, *Discorsi e Panegyrici 1931-1935* (Milan, 1936), pp. 382 and 383; cited in *Marianum*, *loc. cit.*

21. Cf. *Discorsi*, pp. 397 and 432; *Marianum*, *loc. cit.* In the address to priests, the author refers to Mary as having become "Regina Martyrum simul et Sacerdotum" by her intimate participation in the bloody Sacrifice of Christ (*ibid.*, p. 408).

22. Cf. *L'Osserv. Rom.*, Dec. 8, 1937: "L'application des mérites de Jésus-Christ forme, d'ailleurs, avec leur acquisition une seule oeuvre complète: celle du salut. Il convient que Marie coopère de la même manière aux deux parties de cette même oeuvre: ainsi le réclame l'unité du plan divin. . . L'heure venue, Marie rejoint son Fils sur la montée du Calvaire. . . elle assiste au crucifiement et quand la croix se dresse, chargée de son divin et sanglant fardeau, elle se tient tout auprès, debout, offrant avec lui le sacrifice. . . elle offrait son Fils pour nous, tandisqu'il s'offrait lui-même"; *Marianum*, *loc. cit.* Like Benedict XV who says that Mary "redeemed the human race together with Christ" (cf. citation given above), the present Holy Father does not hesitate to say that the souls of men were "redeemed" by the sufferings of Jesus and Mary ("redente dal sangue e dai dolori del Redentore e della suo Vergine Madre," *Discorsi*, p. 370).

In their obvious meaning, their statements signify that Mary is Co-redemptrix in the sense that she directly coöperated with Christ on Calvary, though dependently upon Him, in the acquisition of grace, therefore, in the objective Redemption of the human race. Though fully aware of the fact that some authors object to the title of Co-redemptrix, the Supreme Pontiffs have sanctioned it. They are not accustomed in their official pronouncements to use words lightly or to employ vague or ambiguous language.

DAVID BAIER, O. F. M.

*St. Bonaventure Seminary,  
St. Bonaventure, N. Y.*

## ST. BERNARDINE OF SIENA, THE POPULAR PREACHER

THE Franciscan order is preparing to celebrate the fifth centenary of the death of St. Bernardine of Siena in 1444. This man was the prince of preachers in his day. The cities of central and northern Italy flocked to him and obeyed his commands. Bernardine is a glorious example of the popular preacher, the friar loved and sought by the people. The order of the poor and humble Francis has ever gloried in being considered the sons of the people. By their close contact and sympathy with the ordinary classes of society, the Friars Minor have ever wielded a tremendous influence on the minds and hearts of the people. In the modern world conditions have changed since the days of Bernardine, but men today need other Bernardines to guide them to the gentle Heart of Christ. The apostolate of the Friars Minor is to the poor in a special way, even as was the mission of Christ: "The spirit of the Lord is upon me; because He has anointed me; to bring good news to the poor He has sent me."<sup>1</sup> The urgent command of Pope Pius XI in his encyclical on Atheistic Communism echoes the age-old mission of the Friars Minor, here addressed to every priest:

To priests in a special way We recommend anew the oft-repeated counsel of Our Predecessor, Leo XIII, to go to the working-man. We make this advice Our own, and faithful to the teachings of Jesus Christ and His Church, We thus complete it: "Go to the working-man, especially where he is poor; and in general, go to the poor."<sup>2</sup>

The poor in the cities of Italy in the fifteenth century were fortunate in having a long line of famous Franciscans and Dominicans to lead them in the path of salvation. Dr. Ludwig Pastor writes of these saints and blessed:

The historian of the Church of the fifteenth century meets with an immense number of men distinguished for their virtue, piety and learning. . . . The first of this glorious company is St. Bernardine of Siena . . . whose eloquence won for him the titles of trumpet of Heaven and fountain of knowledge. . . .<sup>3</sup>

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1. Luke 4:18 (Revised Edition).

2. Paragraph 61, N. C. W. C. Edition p. 42.

3. Dr. Ludwig Pastor, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages*, edited by Frederick Ignatius Antrobus (5th edn., Herder, St. Louis), I (1923), Introduction, p. 36.

There follows a long list of Franciscan and Dominican saints and blessed. Writing of the preachers in this century, Dr. Pastor declares:

The religious orders gave to Italy in the fifteenth century a line of preachers whose devotion to their calling and whose power and earnestness have, even after the lapse of ages, commanded the esteem of those who differ from them. . . . The most celebrated preachers of the Franciscan order were — St. Bernardine of Siena (+1444), Alberto da Sarteano (+1450), St. Jacopo [sic] della Marca [sic] (+1476), St. John Capistran (+1456), Antonio di Rimini (about 1450), Silvestro di Siena (about 1450), Giovanni di Prato (about 1455), Antonio di Bitonto (+1459), Roberto da Lecce (+1483), Antonio di Vercelli (+1483).<sup>4</sup>

Father Luke Wadding, O. F. M., gives a list of almost twenty Friars Minor who followed the example of St. Bernardine in his method of popular preaching.<sup>5</sup> The Friars Minor of the fifteenth century were ardent students who trained themselves well for the delicate and exalted office of preaching. Dr. Pastor writes of St. Bernardine: "St. Bernardine of Siena is said to have studied oratory from the ancient models, and . . . Alberto da Sarteano, one of his most distinguished disciples and followers, certainly did so."<sup>6</sup> The same renowned historian has this praise of the preachers at that time:

Too little attention has as yet been bestowed on the action of these preachers of penance, who were highly esteemed and sought after by the people, and even by worldly-minded princes, and zealously supported by the Popes, especially by Eugenius IV and Nicholas V. When the History of Preaching in Italy at the period of the Renaissance is written, it will be seen that the free and fervent exercise of this office is one of the most cheering signs, in an age clouded with many dark shadows. . . . No age, perhaps, offers such striking scenes in the conversion of all classes of the people, of whole towns and provinces, as does that, whose wounds were so fearlessly laid bare by Sts. Vincent Ferrer, Bernardine of Siena, John Capistran, and by Savonarola.<sup>7</sup>

Father Wadding gives a great number of incidents from the life of St. Bernardine. They concern his travels, preaching, virtues, peacemaking, promotion of the cult of the Name of Jesus, miracles, and canonization.<sup>8</sup> But these are bare historical facts. To give us a better idea of the man and his extraordinary power over the masses, we must read his sermons and the comments on them made by expert

4. *Ibid.*, p. 32.

5. Lucas Wadding, *Annales Minorum* (Ad Claras Aquas [Quaracchi], 1932), XII, 62, VII.

6. Pastor, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 33, 34.

8. Wadding, *op. cit.*, X, XI, XII, *passim*.

critics. We must see Italy as it was in the days of Bernardine and note the marvellous effects his preaching had in the great cities of the land.<sup>9</sup>

9. Luciano Banchi was the first to edit a complete course of any of the popular sermons of St. Bernardine. From 1880 till 1888 Banchi published the 1427-Siena sermons. These were delivered in the Campo of Siena from August 15 to October 5 of that year. There are only forty-five sermons, because the Saint did not preach on some days. Paschal Robinson in his article on the Saint in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* is incorrect in calling this a Lenten course. Its scope was such but it was not delivered in Lent. There were many editions of Bernardine's sermons in various languages and ages but none of them was complete or critical. Banchi's edition created great interest, and since then works about Bernardine and his sermons have appeared in great number, especially in Italian. Articles about him are also numerous. A review of some of the more recent works and articles on the Saint is given in *Collectanea Franciscana* (Coll. S. Lorenzo da Brindisi, Assisi), VIII (1938), 441-450. See also *Bullettino di Studi Bernardiniani, Pubblicazione trimestrale in preparazione al V Centenario della morte di S. Bernardino da Siena* ("L'Osservanza", Siena, since 1935). This is a fine periodical devoted to Bernardine studies and to the preparation of his works in a critical edition.

Some of the better works published about St. Bernardine in Italian since 1853 are the following:

- 1853 Dott. Gaetano Milanese, *Prediche Volgari di S. Bernardino da Siena per la prima volta messe in luce* (dell'Ancora, Siena). It gives ten of the 1427-Siena sermons.
- 1868 Francesco Zambrini *Novelle, esempi morali e apologetici di S. Bernardino da Siena* (G. Romagnoli, Bologna) in *Scelta di curiosità letterarie inedite e rare*, Vol. 97.
- 1880-1888 Luciano Banchi, *Le Prediche volgari di S. Bernardino da Siena dette nella Piazza del Campo l'anno 1427* (Siena), 3 vols.
- 1888 Luigi Fumi, *S. Bernardino da Siena in Orvieto e in Porano* (Siena).
- 1895 Orazio Bacci, *Le Prediche Volgari di S. Bernardino da Siena* (Siena).
- 1897 Paolo Thureau-Dangin, *Un Predicatore popolare dei tempi del Rinascimento — S. Bernardino da Siena*, Tradotto dal Barbetti (Siena).
- 1899 Domenico Ronzoni, *L'Eloquenza di S. Bernardino da Siena e della sua scuola* (Siena).
- 1899 Felice Alessio, *Storia di S. Bernardino da Siena e del suo tempo* (Mondovi).
- 1913 A. Galletti, *Una Predica inedita di S. Bernardino per nozze Soldati-Manis* (Città di Castello).
- 1914-1927 Massimo Bontempelli, *S. Bernardino da Siena — Profili* (Formiggin, Genova-Roma).
- 1917 Giuseppe Petrocchi, *Un grande oratore sacro del Rinascimento — S. Bernardino da Siena* (Città di Castello).
- 1919 Salvatore Tosti, O. F. M., "Di alcuni codici delle Prediche di S. Bernardino da Siena con un saggio di quelle inedite," in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* (Quaracchi), XII, 187-273.
- 1924 Piero Misciattelli, *Le piu belle pagine di Bernardino da Siena* (Treves, Milano).
- 1924 M. Sticco, *Il pensiero di S. Bernardino da Siena* ("Vita e Pensiero," Milano).
- 1926 Giorgina Pagioli, *S. Bernardino da Siena e la sua attività in Firenze negli anni 1424-1425* (Rossini, Firenze).
- 1929 Dionisio Pacetti, O. F. M., *Sermoni Latini S. Bernardini Senensis, Trattato delle Ispirazioni* (*Classici Cristiani*, No. 11), Cantagalli, Siena.
- 1930 Lilia Marri-Martini, *S. Bernardino e la donna* (Siena).
- 1933 Piero Bargellini, *S. Bernardino da Siena* (Morcelliana, Brescia).
- 1933 Vittorino Facchinetti, O. F. M., *S. Bernardino da Siena, Mistico Sole del secolo XV* (S. Lega Eucaristica, Milano).



## THE REFORMER OF SACRED ELOQUENCE

Preaching in the early part of the fifteenth century was in a sad state. Many useless and strange things were heard from the pulpits; there were plays on words, dry scholastic material, mixtures of the sacred and profane, little theology and less Sacred Scripture.<sup>10</sup> The Great Western Schism, petty wars in many lands, and a consequent general unrest among the nations had its effect upon the clergy. The people know when a preacher is giving them Christ and the true words of life. This was the secret of the success the Friars experienced at that time. They could not have become the peace-makers between cities if the spirit of Christ had not enkindled in them the fire of sacred eloquence. They could not have caused the laws of cities to be changed for the better if the people had not acclaimed them men full of zeal and love for souls.

In the popular sermons of St. Bernardine we see such oratorical fire as to make any other speaker jealous of him. His arguments are solid, taken from Sacred Scripture, the Fathers and Doctors, the sacred canons and reason. Bernardine had perfect control of the crowds. He moulded their hearts and minds. He scolded them, coaxed them, urged them, persuaded them, threatened them, played with them. He had a fine understanding of the human heart, and he used it to lay bare the secrets of souls. He could be sweet and gentle without attracting the people to himself. He could be terrible in denunciations without antagonizing his audience. People said it was fearful to attend Bernardine's sermons, but worse to stay away.

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- 1934   Ciro Cannarozzi, O. F. M., *S. Bernardino — Le Prediche Volgari (11 Quar-  
resimale di Firenze nel 1424)* (Pacinotti, Pistoia), 2 vols.
- 1934   Dionisio Pacetti, O. F. M., "I codici autografi di S. Bernardino da Siena  
della Vaticana e della Comunale di Siena" in *Archivum Franciscanum  
Historicum* (Quaracchi), XXVII, p. 30 *et seq.*
- 1935   Dionisio Pacetti, O. F. M., *S. Bernardino da Siena — Le Prediche Volgari:  
Campo di Siena 1427* (*Classici Cristiani*, No. 55), Cantagalli, Siena.
- 1935   Dionisio Pacetti, O. F. M., *S. Bernardino da Siena — Le Prediche Volgari  
Inedite: Firenze 1424, 1425 — Siena 1425* (*Classici Cristiani*, No. 56),  
Cantagalli, Siena.
- 1936   Piero Bargellini, *S. Bernardino da Siena — Le Prediche Volgari, I Classici  
Rizzoli* (Rizzoli, Milano).
- 1938   Dionisio Pacetti, O. F. M., *S. Bernardino da Siena — Operette Volgari*  
(Libreria Editrice Fiorentina, Firenze).
- 1939-1940   Dionisio Pacetti, O. F. M., "La Predicazione di S. Bernardino da Siena a  
Perugia e ad Assisi nel 1425," *Collectanea Franciscana* (Collegio S. Lorenzo  
da Brindisi, Assisi), IX (1939), pp. 494-520; X (1940), pp. 5-28, 161-188.
10. Pacetti, *S. Bernardino da Siena — Le Prediche Volgari: Campo di Siena 1427*,  
pp. 20, 21.

Fearful it was to hear their crimes denounced, yet it was a mental tonic to see and hear this wonderful herald of Christ. Some critics hold that no praise is too great for the Saint as a preacher. He could bring people to their knees and make them lead a better life. He changed the morals of Italy and caused a happier day to dawn for his native land. He was the incarnate ideal of a preacher.<sup>11</sup>

In the Franciscan order alone there are a great number of friars who imitated Bernardine in his popular preaching. Father Hefelee gives the glorious history of Franciscan preaching in Italy in the fifteenth century.<sup>12</sup> St. Bernardine is its inspiration and crown. His sermons have a certain spontaneity and freshness which attract us of a different age and language. We find there no vain ornaments, no extravagance, no abuse of the sacred office of preacher. Dr. Galletti writes of his sermons:

In every sermon there is a current of life, rapid and youthful, which sustains the discourse from start to finish. The affable simplicity, the familiar touch, the desire to avoid every difficult question, the apostrophes and examples — all unite to produce one harmonious effect. They give these sermons that popular touch which the orator wished them to have. His scholastic training is visible in his many distinctions, but it is a mantle that covers the allocutions of the good shepherd. But Bernardine as a good shepherd prefers simplicity and clarity to all else. Preaching had descended from the height to which a preceding age had raised it. . . . But with St. Bernardine it returned to its origins and became once again a simple moral allocution.<sup>13</sup>

Another critic has this praise of Bernardine's sermons:

They are unaffected and have the happy quality of telling the truth with a vivid directness in simple terms. The theme is uninterrupted and never tires. There is perfect harmony between the thought and the expression, between the thing and the word. The discourse is quick, vibrant, all color and warmth; it has unity and all the requisites of true art. Anyone who reads these sermons will not marvel that Bernardine had such enormous influence on his age. It is hard to decide where art ends and where eloquence begins. But leaving aside the oratorical effect for the moment, what a wonderful work of art each sermon is!

The entire world is represented in his sermons. The human soul of his time and of all times is reflected in his typical expressions. Popes, priests,

11. Banchi, *op. cit.*, Introd.; Alessio, *op. cit.*, Introd.; Pacetti, *op. cit.*, p. 23; Pope Nicholas V in the bull of the canonization of St. Bernardine; cf. Wadding, *op. cit.*, XII, 5-3, II.

12. C. Hefelee, *Der Hl. Bernardin von Siena und die Franziskanische Wanderpredigt in Italien Während des XV Jahrhunderts* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1912). Cf. Ferrers Howell, *S. Bernardino of Siena* (Methuen, London, 1913).

13. A. Galletti, "L'Eloquenza" in *Storia dei generi letterari* (Vallardi, Milano, 1914), p. 195.

bishops, merchants, women, artisans, children, magistrates, beggars, soldiers, sinners, usurers, witches, tyrants, widows, insane, princes, blasphemers, and every sort of animal pass before us in the discourses of Bernardine. There is ever a moving and dramatic scene presented.<sup>14</sup>

#### ITALY IN THE SERMONS OF ST. BERNARDINE

Although the great preacher often displayed humor and won the people by his exact and incisive descriptions, yet he would never speak lightly of the great wounds of Italy—the political factions and the troubles they caused. At this time when the various cities were beginning to lose their age-old liberties and great princes were making demands on the people, St. Bernardine manifested a broad-mindedness, peninsular rather than local. Although he did not envisage a national state of Italy, such as exists today, still he wished that the minds and aspirations of the people would not be confined to the walls of their own cities. The Franciscan habit and apostolate had detached Bernardine from his own city and made him see farther than Siena and Florence. He went through Italy on foot, from region to region, from city to city. His burning desire was to know Italy's needs and to convert it to Christ. He studied its customs and understood its soul; he rejoiced in its virtues and wept over its vices.

Bernardine loved the various dialects of Italy. He turned a willing ear to local expressions and used them in his sermons. The costumes and likes of various cities often seemed extravagant and even sinful to him. Undaunted he complained of such things together with abuses of justice and charity—and this in no uncertain terms! The climate and scenery of Italy, its mountains and rivers, its animals and fruits, all afforded the saint apt illustrations and examples when speaking to the people.

The multiple occupations of the different cities were well known to Bernardine. He could speak of the Venetian arsenal. He knew how the Milanese made carriages and shields, how the people spoke in Lodigiano, and how the Florentine merchants cheated. He lamented "Lombardy where the women wear pearls and where the political factions have reduced the region to a sad state." Perugia was corrupted but its mystic soul reawakened at the voice of this son of Francis. It burned its idols of vanity in the public square, as did

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14. Bontempelli, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

so many other cities where "the Trumpet of Heaven" had lifted his voice in denunciation of vanity and vice. Perugia became a very neat city with many churches frequented to such an extent that it seemed a miracle. Siena neglected study, "because its young men wasted time running around town with an owl [girl] at their elbows." The Saint ordered the clergy of Siena to pay taxes (although exempt) so that the people would have no excuse for evading them. Italy was indeed the land of usury, luxury, impurity, and quarrels; but the "Prince of Preachers" chastised her and brought her to a better state. He could finally say: "Where is there a more delightful place to live than Italy? I answer that if it were not for your political feuds, no land could compare with this."<sup>15</sup>

The new riches and new culture which enchanted Italy at that time and dilated the pages of Rucellai, Palmieri, Bruni, and Vespasiano also impressed Bernardine with the realization of the Italian Renaissance. The humble Franciscan was aware of that Hellenic Spring, which, after a thousand years, had returned to flower forth on the banks of the Arno. "Italy," he writes, "is the most intellectual part of the world; Tuscany, the most intellectual part of Italy; and Florence, the most intellectual part of Tuscany."<sup>16</sup>

Looking through the volumes of Wadding's *Annals*, we get an idea of the glory that is Bernardine's as a preacher. Even geographically speaking one marvels at the number of places he visited and the relative speed with which he, at times, got from city to city. In the tenth volume, for example, we meet with facts such as the following.

Bernardine was divinely moved to preach in Lucca. Whilst praying there, he heard a voice crying through the house: "Brother Bernardine, go to Lombardy to preach the word of God." He asked the brethren and others to pray for light in the matter, and when he saw it was God's will, he set off for Lombardy.<sup>17</sup>

There, in Milan, he preached first in poor churches and rarely; then his fame spread, and he began to speak in the largest churches with great fruit. A certain schoolmaster there was a great admirer of Bernardine. This man would urge his pupils to attend the sermons

15. Pacetti, *Le Prediche Volgari: Campo di Siena, 1427*, pp. 30-35.

16. Pacetti, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

17. Wadding, *op. cit.*, X, 6, XII.

of the friar. "Let us go," he would say, "to hear this good little friar, clothed in such a poor and rough tunic, to him who has such elegant language, such splendor of eloquence, such an apt way of teaching, and such majesty of words and sentences."<sup>18</sup> The Milanese loved the holy friar and considered him a Heaven-sent messenger. Great numbers of them frequented the sacraments and many became Franciscans. His energy in preaching is well described; also his appearance and gestures are praised. He was a finished speaker. He could reprehend vices, for he himself was beyond reproach. Wadding has a little over eleven large pages treating of Bernardine's apostolate in Milan in 1418. The effects of his work there were unprecedented. Monasteries were erected, scandals removed, morals improved, enmities and old hates brought to a loving conclusion. Once when the Duke of Milan was present, the Saint upbraided him publicly for his pride and arrogance. The Duke was so angry that he threatened to kill the friar in the most horrible way. But Bernardine merely announced the Duke's decision to the people, saying that as a preacher of truth he was willing to suffer martyrdom for the truth. At this the Duke was shamed and left the Saint in peace.<sup>19</sup>

When Bernardine was still a young man, he often heard St. Vincent Ferrer preach in Alexandria (Lombardy). One day the great Dominican asked the youth to dinner. They had a long conversation. The next day St. Vincent announced to the people:

There is in your midst a certain Franciscan friar, who will be famous in all Italy a few years from now. His life and doctrine will bring forth excellent fruits. Although I precede him in age, still in the Roman Church he will precede me in honor. You should give thanks to God in his name. I will leave Italy to him and return to France and Spain.<sup>20</sup>

Wadding adds: "He returned to the lands he had left for a time. Ten years later the name of Bernardine filled all Italy; and although Blessed Vincent died thirty years before him (1414), Bernardine was canonized six years before Vincent (1450)."<sup>21</sup>

Bernardine gave lengthy courses of sermons in Emilia, Lombardy, Piacenza, Ferrara, Mantua, Verona, Viruno, Venice, Bologna, Rome, Valle Seriana, Florence, Perugia, Siena, Trivillio, Spoleto, Aquila,

18. *Ibid.*, 7, XIII.

19. *Ibid.*, 7, XIII-14, XXIV.

20. *Ibid.*, 15, XXXIV.

21. *Ibid.*

and many other towns.<sup>22</sup> Everywhere the people loved him and respected his admonitions. Pastor writes:

He . . . preached penance to the Roman populace, who had grown wild and lawless during the absence of the Popes. A pure and saintly life gave double power to his words, and the success of his preaching was immense. Bloody feuds which had lasted for years, were brought to an end, atonement was made for great crimes, and hardened sinners were converted.<sup>23</sup>

Of the fruit of Bernardine's Roman apostolate at that time (1424), Wadding adds:

Bernardine preached this year in Rome — with the greatest applause and immense spiritual fruit. On July 21, he ordered burned a huge pile of playing-cards, gambling-tables, bad songs, dice, articles of witchcraft, wigs, and other feminine ornaments. He pacified feuds and converted many Jews.<sup>24</sup>

Bernardine came to Rome again in 1427 to clear himself of a charge of heresy regarding the cult of the Holy Name of Jesus, which he propagated. Pope Martin V ordered the Saint to preach in the Eternal City.

In order to manifest his [Bernardine's] innocence the more clearly in Rome, where he had been slandered, the Pope himself, with his assembled clergy, made a solemn procession in honor of the Name of Jesus amidst universal rejoicings. He also commanded the Saint to preach in St. Peter's, and then in other churches in the Eternal City. For eighty days St. Bernardine devoted himself to these apostolic labors which were crowned with the greatest success.<sup>25</sup>

Bernardine preached in Italy from Naples to Venice, and wept over its sins. But he also rejoiced that it did penance at his preaching, even as the Ninevites at the word of Jonas.<sup>26</sup> Little wonder that Bernardine was declared a saint only six years after his death and that all Italy rejoiced over his canonization.<sup>27</sup>

#### CHARACTERISTICS OF BERNARDINE'S PREACHING

Born at Massa Marittima in 1380, Bernardine began to be famous as a preacher when he was about thirty-six. He had been well trained by the friars and had great talent. In appearance he was of ordinary height, handsome, graceful, and slim. His features were finely chis-

22. *Ibid.*, X and XI, *passim*; XII, 62, VII.

23. Pastor, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

24. Wadding, *op. cit.*, X, 80, II.

25. Pastor, *op. cit.*, pp. 233, 234.

26. Jonas 3:5; Luke 11:32.

27. Wadding, *op. cit.*, XII, 61, V.

eled — long straight nose, small mouth, bright eyes, and noble head. History and old paintings agree in this.<sup>28</sup>

His holiness and the perfect control over his own body and soul gave him a magnificent moral power over the people. The very sight of him awed the spectators. His gestures are remarked by almost all who wrote after seeing him. He had a special grace in making gestures that fitted the thoughts he was expressing. Even in mimicry his gestures were never unworthy. At first his voice had been weak, but through practice and prayer he acquired a voice of a splendid and fascinating timbre. Historians as Piccolomini (Pius II), Maffeo Vegio, Bernabeo of Siena, Poggio Bracciolini, Vespasiano da Bisticci, and Ambrogio Traversari heard the Saint preach on many occasions. All agree that no words can justly describe the exquisite charm of his pronunciation, the harp-like music of his voice.<sup>29</sup>

The fine physical and vocal qualities of Bernardine were the externals of his eloquence. His interior endowments were the grace of God, love for souls, and zeal for the glory of Christ. Add to this a tender and affectionate heart, brilliant imagination, poetic insight, solid doctrine, experience, attractive style and literary form. He must have had all these qualities in a high degree to enchant Italy of the Renaissance as he did. Not only the poor people flocked to hear him, but the rich and educated felt it a matter of good taste to listen to his sermons and discuss them. Scholars, princes, popes, and emperors heard the Saint willingly and acclaimed his eloquent genius.<sup>30</sup>

28. *Ibid.*, X, 9, XVII. *Enciclopedia Italiana* (Istituto Giovanni Treccani, Milano, 1930), VI, Art. "Bernardino da Siena, Santo."

Pictures of the Saint are by Sano di Pietro (Siena, Tivoli, Viterbo, Montalcino, Capistrano, and Acquedente), Pinturicchio (Araceli, Rome), Montagna (Basilica of St. Anthony, Padua), Sassetta, and others (various places in Umbria such as Spoleto, Perugia, etc.).

Cf. also *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, II, Art. "Bernardine of Siena, Saint." For iconography and bibliography of the Saint see Misciattelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 271-277.

29. Wadding, *op. cit.*, X, 9, XVII and XVIII; 11, XXIV; 13, XXVII; 15, XXXII and XXXIII, etc.

30. Wadding, *op. cit.*, X, 8, XVI, regarding the voice of Bernardine has this: "Quibus nos Bernardinum praeconii extollemus? Qua admiratione prosequemur? quo toties eum audivimus ea pronuntiationis gratia, naturae praelarga manu adeo donatum fuisse, ut nihil dignius, nihil certe praestantius dici posset. Quippe cui ita vox lenis, clara, sonora, distincta, explicata, solida, penetrans, plena, redundans, elevata, atque afficax erat, ut ad id, quod jussus susceperat, proferendi in vulgus sermonis officium, recte illi ad nutum formata credi liceret. Quae ita suavis erat, ut cum suavitate admixtam haberet dignam quandam gravitatem; ita robusta, ut condita esset magna lenitate; ita aperta, ut non solutius tamen illa deflueret. Quae praeterea aptis quibusdam et decentibus modis ita intruebatur, ut major inde nimirum ejus dignitas, gratiorque expectatio nasceretur." What more could we expect in any speaker?

## DEVOTION TO THE HOLY NAME

One of the things Bernardine stressed in his course was reverence for the Holy Name of Jesus. To offset the terrible habit of cursing, the Saint began to honor the Holy Name in a special way when he was Father Guardian at Fiesole, near Florence, about the year 1418. In the various towns and cities where he preached he would speak of the sanctity of the Holy Name. He would present to the people a plaque on which the sacred monogram I H S was surrounded by rays. This he would hold up to be revered and honored, knowing that the adoration was directed to Christ. He would have the sacred initials I H S inscribed on the church and palace walls. This the Saint also did at Viterbo. But the followers of Manfred of Vercelli, whom Bernardine had denounced in his sermons, accused the great preacher of heresy before Pope Martin V.

The Pope cited Bernardine to Rome. The friar left Viterbo at once and found the Pope angry over the things he had heard from the Saint's accusers. The books of Bernardine were to be examined by some Dominicans and Augustinians. In the meantime the Franciscan was forbidden to preach and to expose the plaque of the Name of Jesus. A day was set for the examination of the case in St. Peter's. Meanwhile other friars, especially St. John Capistran, friend and companion of Bernardine came to the rescue. Capistran had been preaching at Naples, at the behest of Queen Johanna, to rid the city of Jewish usurers and illicit contractors. Capistran went to Aquila, had a plaque of the Holy Name painted, and set off for Rome with many citizens. The great procession entered the Eternal City, singing the praises of the Holy Name written by St. Bernard. The procession was swelled by the Romans, and Capistran headed them all to St. Peter's. It was the day of Bernardine's trial, but Pope Martin V was so impressed by the fervor and demonstration of the people that he postponed the examination. At the trial many arguments were brought against Bernardine from Scripture and the sacred canons, but Bernardine and Capistran answered all objections so well that the Pope dismissed the case. The Pope then gave his blessing to this cult and allowed the friars to preach it everywhere. Then he ordered a public procession in honor of the Holy Name to clear Bernardine of any taint of heresy. As stated above, Bernardine preached for eighty



days in Rome and Cardinals, princes, and even the Pope heard him on several occasions.<sup>31</sup>

St. Bernardine offered the Holy Sacrifice before preaching, because he generally preached early in the morning. He would then await the crowds and prepare himself prayerfully to act as the herald of the great King. His exquisite Latin sermons were written for his disciples to show them with what care they were to prepare themselves. But those sermons he never preached.<sup>32</sup> Here we are concerned with his popular discourses (*le prediche volgari*). If it were not for certain zealous stenographers who took down these familiar sermons, we would be deprived of a whole world of thought, beauty, feeling, and expression.

In his Latin sermons Bernardine is formal and scholastic. In his popular discourses he still is inclined to make many distinctions. But here he develops things more broadly, he brings matters right down to the audience. His imagination seems to have been enkindled when he saw those vast crowds before him, for he speaks extemporaneously about certain incidents that take place or certain buildings nearby. Such external suggestions offer him many occasions to digress a bit from his fixed subject. And still each sermon has its own harmony. The digressions give vigor and variety to the sermon, offering the preacher illustrations and examples. The discourse is evolved in well-balanced periods, vibrant with life and gracefully picturesque.

With Bernardine "the style is truly the man." The form of his mind seems to parallel that of his body. His fine thoughts agree with

31. *Ibid.* X, 114, I-III. X, 8, XV: "Everywhere he preached penance and people came to confession 'like ants.'" X, 8, 9, 10: Bernardine branded the prevalent vices in every town. X, 189, V: Bernardine was vindicated by Pope Eugene IV in the bull *Sedis Apostolicae* of January 8, 1432, regarding the preaching of the Holy Name. Bernardine receives this praise: "Homo honestae conversationis, vitae laudabilis et religiosae, et optimae famae, nedum Catholicus et Christianus Fidelissimus, sed et acerrimus et rigorosus haeresum extirpator, et ob eius integritatem vitae, laudabiles verbi Dei praedicationes, et salutare bonorum operum fructus, praeclarissimus fidei Catholicae praedicator et instructor rectissimus, in omni fere Italia et extra inter ceteros famosus evangelizatoris Verbi Dei praesentis aetatis probatus."

32. Johannes De La Haye, *S. Bernardini Senensis Opera Omnia* (Venetiis, 1745), 3 vols. The Latin sermons have 4 Lenten courses, one Advent course, 14 sermons on Christ, 13 for feasts of Our Lady and of the saints, 25 special sermons and 20 on various topics. The Saint has also some dissertations on practical and mystical theology, several treatises on the Blessed Virgin and St. Joseph, and a commentary on the Apocalypse. All these works are in De La Haye's edition. Joseph Calasancius Cardinal Vives y Tuto, O. F. M. Cap., published excerpts from the Saint's ascetical works in 1903: *S. Bernardini Senensis de Dominica Passione, Resurrectione, et SS. Nomine Jesu Contemplationes* (Roma, 1903).

his fine features. His ardent love and asceticism flame forth from his sermons no less than from his eyes and delicate lips. He loved the open and preferred to preach there rather than in churches. Preaching did not tire him. Every sermon rejuvenated him and rejoiced his heart. He admitted this himself. He was not an actor, but a real, earnest preacher. He knew all the secrets of true oratory. He could move the souls of his audience to joy, tears, hope, fear, contrition, and enthusiasm. His mighty and burning words demanded hearing and thought as well as sympathy and change of morals in the audience. Shrewd remarks on vice, the salt of irony, and imitations of various animal cries are all mixed with quotations from the Bible and the Fathers. But what the people loved best of all was to hear Bernardine's own comments, to know what was in his soul and how he thought and felt about matters.

#### BENEDICT BARTOLOMEO, THE SIENESE FULLER<sup>33</sup>

After Bernardine's phenomenal success in preaching to the Milanese in 1417, his fame spread, and he was in demand in city after city. His native Siena asked for him in 1423, but he went on to other places. In 1424, he gave an excellent course of sermons in Florence. The people asked for another course in the Lent of 1425. He finished this shortly after Easter, when the people of Siena clamored to have him. Bernardine consented and began a course there on April 20. It lasted throughout May and ended in June. Bernardine was at the height of his fame. His own people vied with those of Florence and other cities to praise and honor him. His fearlessness, his simple and direct style effected marvels wherever he preached. Great cities, as Siena and Florence, obeyed his commands; and later incorporated his counsels in their laws. These became known as "The Reforms of St. Bernardine."<sup>34</sup>

In Florence and Siena, in the courses of 1424 and 1425 there were trained stenographers, educated people, who took down the main ideas of Bernardine's sermons. They sat near the preacher and had

33. Benedetto di Messer Bartolomeo. The editors of Bernardine's works speak of him, e. g. Banchi, Bacci, Canarozzi, Bargellini, and Pacetti. The latter has a special chapter devoted to this good man (*Le Prediche Volgari, 1427, Siena*), pp. 39-42.

Cf. Piero Bargellini, "San Bernardino e il suo stenografo," in *Nuova Antologia* (Treves-Treccani, Roma), vol. 67, No. 1458 (Dec. 16, 1932), pp. 507-515.

34. Wadding, *op. cit.*, X, XI, XII, *passim*.

wax tablets and stiles. They employed one of those many systems of shorthand for which the Middle Ages are famous. Later the sermons were written out on parchment. Probably by 1424 the people sensed the need of having the Saint's sermons in permanent form. They knew, too, that he did not preach a sermon as he prepared and wrote it. To perpetuate the peculiar charm of the Saint's spoken word, stenographers were finally employed. But alas! Not even these diligent workers could capture every word. Not even they could give an exact portrait of Bernardine in full action.

In the summer of 1427, "the Trumpet of Heaven" was again invited to give a course of sermons in Siena. This time Providence gave him a stenographer "to the manner born." It was Benedict di Messer Bartolomeo of Siena. He was a man of middle age and he is described in the introduction to this work as being "a fuller who, having a wife, many children, little money, and great virtue, wrote out all the sermons of this course *de verbo in verbum*."<sup>35</sup> What a man and what a description! He had heard Bernardine in 1425, and lamented the fact that he had not then taken down the Saint's discourses. Now Benedict heard that Bernardine would begin to preach on Assumption Day and he prepared accordingly. Early in the morning, before dawn, Benedict arose and prepared his tablets and table near the rostrum in the public square. The Saint would offer Mass on an improvised altar in that square as the people began to gather. The women would speak to one another thus causing a low murmuring in the crowd. As the night passed and the dawn began to break, the sun would slowly climb over the Tower of Mangia. But by that time, Bernardine had long finished his talk to the people.

Generally St. Bernardine had a certain Fra Vincenzo with him. This good brother carried a basket of manuscripts and parchments —

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35. "Fù un cimatore di panni chi aveva donna e più figliuoli e poca robba e assai virtù, lassando stare per quello tempo di lavorare e scriveva le prediche 'de verbo in verbum' non lassando una minima paroluzza di quelle che uscivano di quella santa bocca, che lui non scrivesse." "He was a fuller who had a wife, many children, little money, and great virtue, leaving his work during this time, he wrote the sermons word for word not omitting the smallest word of those that came from this holy mouth." From the introduction to the manuscript of Benedict. The original of his work is lost, but several very old copies are extant. The introduction was written probably by some friar. Copies of these sermons are still extant in manuscript form in the Communal Library of Siena. Other popular sermons of the Saint are preserved in manuscript form in the Riccardian and Laurentian Libraries of Florence and in the University Library of Pavia. Cf. Pacetti, *op. cit.*, pp. 26, 27; 39-42. Bargellini, *loc. cit.*, p. 513.

the Saint's travelling library. It contained the Vulgate Bible, some excerpts of the Fathers and Doctors, and comments by Bernardine himself. Fra Vincenzo sat on the steps of the rostrum, timing Bernardine and watching the people. He it was who would tell the preacher later of his impressions of the sermon on the people. During the day Vincenzo would speak to various citizens and gather opinions and hints about the Saint's preaching.<sup>36</sup>

Benedict sat near Vincenzo but in full view of the preacher. On the first day, the Saint noticed this poor man writing there. He could see from his garb and manner that the writer was not a scholar, and thought first the man was not in his right wits. For Bernardine saw that the man began to write as soon as the preacher opened his mouth and never ceased writing. It was something new for the friar and the crowd! But the second and third day the Saint paid closer attention. Vincenzo had probably also made some inquiries, and Bernardine began on the third day to mention the writer in his sermon. From that day forward, St. Bernardine grew to love this simple and devout worker, who was so faithful and pious.

Bargellini holds that the sermons Benedict wrote are some of the finest examples of Italian prose in the fifteenth century. Benedict, in the mind of Bargellini, surpasses even the greatest profane writers of that land and age. The work of Benedict is honest, exact, and untouched. What he heard he wrote, so exactly that even the "Oh's" and "Ah's" of a hesitant Bernardine were included in the sermons. The great writers of that century in Italy were out to impress with magnificent periods and great art. Here we have such a faithful copy of Bernardine's sermons that the only thing missing is a record of the pitch and timbre of his voice. It is well for us to pay tribute, therefore, to this humble fuller, whose diligence and piety were combined with a rare art of taking down quickly and faithfully every syllable of the Saint's sermons. If it had not been for Benedict, the world would never know what it was that the crowds of Italy's cities found so charming in the fervent preaching of St. Bernardine of Siena. As he preached in his native city, so, too, he preached in all the others. True, we can no longer hear the splendid voice nor see the figure and gestures of the Saint, but in reading these sermons of the Siena

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36. Bargellini, *Ibid.*

course of 1427, we get a good idea of the appeal Bernardine's preaching had for the people.

Owing to Benedict's pious industry, St. Bernardine of Siena ranks as one of the great Italian prose writers of the fifteenth century. The other prose writers of Italy at that time wished to imitate the ancient classic models and thus they lost contact with the people. But Bernardine is in constant sympathy with life and with the people in all their joys, sorrows, hopes, fears, and work. This, too, was the secret of Savonarola later in the same century. These two preachers are among the few of that age who did not bow to humanism because they were inflamed with divine fire. They did not twist the words of the Gospel to fit classical periods. And, yet, their own work, so personal and original, ranks not only with the finest of their age, but is even the most singular.<sup>37</sup>

Of all this, however, poor Benedict was unaware. He did an excellent job as self-appointed stenographer. And it was by no means an easy task. After the sermon, Benedict would often ask Fra Vincenzo for some text in Latin, which Bernardine had used. The Italian all went well, but those Latin texts! At times Bernardine would repeat them for Benedict's benefit during the sermon, and Benedict would faithfully write even the admonition to himself, for example: "Oh, you who write, listen well, whilst I repeat the text. . . ." Sometimes Bernardine would forget to mention the sacred author from whose work he quoted. Benedict at such times would guess at the author. He would put in the margin "Paul" when at times it should have been Mark or Luke or John. St. Bernardine loved St. Paul and quoted him frequently. The preacher would call him "il nostro Pavolozzo" or "Pavolo."

The admonitions to Benedict are sprinkled through all these sermons. Both Bernardine and the people must have loved the poor fuller and enjoyed these asides, during serious sermons. "Ah, what a good writer we have; get this clear whilst I repeat it: 'Alienati sunt. . .'" "Oh, what a fine crowd! How happy I am when I can preach. . . but this is not to be written." And he would write it anyway. In the first sermon, Bernardine thought Benedict was a merchant making out his accounts. He calls the man to task saying:

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37. Pacetti, *op. cit.*, pp. 27, 29.

"Have you finished your accounting?" In the third sermon, Bernardine knows the man is taking down every word of the discourse and says to him: "Write as you did before and put it into practice, so that this writing of yours will make the matter enter your memory the better." In the seventh sermon, the Saint fears Benedict will get some points mixed up and says to him: "And the first of these three is this, and write them all well. . . ."

In this Siena course St. Bernardine was deeply moved. These were his own people. Here he felt at home. Many of his relatives and friends lived in Siena. His cousin Tobia and his aunt Pia were dear relatives who attended this course. He knew many of the people by name and at times would shout out to them. He tells a woman to call her husband to the sermon. At times he looks for a text, and Benedict writes for example: "Oh, Oh, wait! Ah, wait a minute, till I recall the text of St. Gregory regarding our point here." Bernardine imitates various animal cries. He bellows and barks; he imitates lions, oxen, dogs, and cows. But his repertoire included humbler creatures, too, such as flies, bees, frogs, and snakes. Benedict writes down all the sounds, mu, mu, wou, wou, buzz, buzz, qua, qua, ss, ss, etc. Bernardine would try to keep the people awake and interested. But some fell asleep during almost every sermon. Bernardine would arouse them and at times call them by name. He would complain about the women making too much noise before the sermon, while he was at the open-air altar. "One calls Caterina, another Margarita, another Giovanna."

On several occasions it rained during the sermon, and the fuller writes: "Here it rained, and the sermon ended." One verse of Dante is misquoted. It reads: ". . . per la contradizion che nol consente." It should be: ". . . per la contrarietà che nol consente." Who made the mistake? Certainly Bernardine, because Benedict was too faithful to get a word wrong.

Returning to his house Benedict would write out the sermon in longhand. This was no small task and took much time. Thus every day he had to prepare several wax tablets to write in shorthand at the sermon itself. Then he had to prepare parchment, quill-pen, and ink to write the words fully. During this time (it consumed 50 days) Benedict did not work in his shop. It was his duty to dress and pre-

pare cloth after it came from the weaver. He had to stretch and pull the cloth in some places and to thicken, scour, press, and narrow it in others. He had to lop off the extra knobs of fuzz and in general make the cloth ready for the tailor. His wife remonstrated with him for not working. The bolts of cloth were heaped up in his humble shop waiting for his skilled hand. But all in vain! His main concern in all that time was to get every word and syllable that fell from the great preacher's mouth! And in this Benedict succeeded admirably. In his shorthand he had some system of getting the tones of Bernardine's voice, perhaps a kind of musical notation. This together with the exact words, the full construction and citations gave Benedict the sermons of Bernardine down to the last sound in all their finesse. The Saint came to visit Benedict from time to time to see how he was getting on with the writing. How the fuller enjoyed these visits! Here was the greatest preacher in Italy honoring the humble shop of poor Benedict. No doubt the whole family profited by these high visits by learning more for the good of their souls. Benedict certainly did.

Some may object that Benedict was simple-minded because he wrote every word, even such as were advice for himself. But there can be no question that the fuller was a prudent and sane person, who captured the charm of Bernardine's sermons precisely by giving every word and syllable the preacher spoke. A learned and sophisticated person would in all probability have left out those many little things which show us Bernardine exactly as he was. Benedict was an artist no less than Bernardine, and the fuller's artistic sense was so felicitous, so fortunate, that he has left us a magnificent work of art. Bargellini, Fachinetti, Pacetti, Banchi, and many others unite in praising Benedict the fuller. He is a Cicero who has given us the living Tuscan language of fifteenth century Siena such as no other writer has.<sup>38</sup>

We can picture the Campo of Siena. It is oval-shaped to this day and thousands can gather in it. There is Bernardine on a high pulpit. Near him the dear fuller and faithful Fra Vincenzo. Time and again Bernardine leans over towards the writer to advise him more precisely on some points. After some days Bernardine knows that Bene-

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38. Bargellini, *loc. cit.*, pp. 510-515.

dict misses nothing. He thanks God for such a stenographer. Hardly any other speaker of the Middle Ages had one more faithful. In fact no preacher of those times had a man who did such unique recording as Bernardine had in Benedict, the Sienese fuller.<sup>39</sup>

#### THE PREACHER IN ACTION

Fervent prayer, honest study, and great penance were the preparation for Bernardine's preaching. After the early Mass, Bernardine awaited the crowd. Many had already come. Dawn broke and things began to grow brighter. The men and women were divided by a heavy cloth, so high that it hid one part of the square from the other. The pulpit was near the end of that cloth, to the west. It was more a large open rostrum than a pulpit. The speaker was free and unhindered by rail or curtain. Near him sat the rulers of Siena on a special platform. The people came from far and near. They gathered under the blue sky as in a dream-cathedral. Bernardine wanted the people to come on time. He was punctual and he detested tardiness. They who came late were not to disturb others by pushing up in front. Merchants came laden with their wares. They would line up near the front and along the sides. If they became impatient, the preacher would chide them. If bells rang as he spoke he would stop, saying: "Let them ring first." Most of the people sat on cushions and small stools during the sermon.<sup>40</sup>

When all was ready Fra Vincenzo would give a sign for silence and St. Bernardine would kneel to offer a short prayer. Then he would arise and look out on the crowd with genuine pleasure. In that moment inspiration seized him and he began to speak — to speak as a man sent from Heaven, to speak with every faculty of his being aflame and alive. The whole man seemed to flow out in the golden and silver words of his glorious voice. The language is native but spiced with a freshness and tang peculiar to the Saint. How limpid and neat the sentences, how strong and convincing the thoughts! His sermons are a clear mirror of life in Siena at that time. They are like a moving-picture of Sienese life, giving us intimate scenes of domestic incidents, festive civic occasions, private and public joys and sorrows, and the humming noise of the marketplace.

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39. Pacetti, *op. cit.*, pp. 41, 42.

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 32-37.



Having announced a solemn Latin text, the Saint "launches out into the deep." He is master of the crowd. He moulds their thoughts and emotions. With a keen eye and sharp sense of the dramatic he knows how to use every occasion to advantage. His illustrations and examples are those of a finished orator and actor. Speaking against the devil he reaches a climax where he invites the people to spit against this enemy of man's salvation. They all do so. Again he asks them to spit as a sign of infamy against detractors. They obey. He laughs and weeps, he imitates people in various trades, ages, and conditions of life. He describes the actions of a hunter with such breathless precision and such fitting gestures that the people no longer see Bernardine the preacher but a hunter intent on getting his prey. The half-closed eyes, the tense position of the body, the raised head, the arms in position to shoot an arrow . . . all so true and exact the crowd almost expects a fine bird to drop in their midst.

Once he speaks of his health and says that on that day he felt a bit weak. But several times he announces something to this effect: "The joy of preaching is so great that every sermon adds a pound to my weight!" At times he is joyous and tells little jokes, then again he speaks to the children. He can be loving and terrible by turns; polite and caustic, as the case demands. There were cold and terrific moments in his sermons during his awful silences which were more terrible than thunder and lightning. Fear seized the audience when he spoke slowly in a cold and measured voice to uncover vice and to chastise the town for its crimes. Never was he heard to shout or grow furious. He was a perfect artist in speaking. His voice had a fine gamut of tones and pitches. He knew when and how to use all these. His wonderful voice together with well-chosen words and the attitude of body were enough to strike terror into the mind and heart of any mortal. When he spoke of the devil (*Lucifaro*, he calls him), one got a mental picture of that once glorious angel and leader now doomed forever to Hell, doomed forever to torment and the hatred of God and man.

In quoting he is often inexact. Then, too, he makes his own versions, frequently changing a few words to suit the case. He applies texts in a broad way with a certain genius for dramatic flair. But all is done with such grace and ability that every text and sentence work together to drive the lesson home. He is an architect of words,

building them up into a sumptuous temple into which he leads the souls of the people to repentance and love of God. The sinner actually trembled and quaked at the scathing words of the preacher. The threats of the Saint and the words of Holy Writ were triumphantly united and hit the sinner's pet vice a vital blow. The sinner feared to hear his secret sins thus dragged out in public under the open sky in the presence of thousands. Here was no playing with words, no escape from the truth! If a person caused a disturbance or left the crowd before the sermon was finished, the words of Bernardine became fierce and sharp in prophetic wrath and Biblical violence.

With singular grace Bernardine could return to a sweet and gentle manner, even gay and brimming with joy. This change relieved the people, fixed their attention, heightened their interest. It awoke those who were drowsy, and it created a stir of expectation in the whole assembly. Sometimes a person in the audience would cry out with joy or fear or another would ask a question. Bernardine was prompt to answer or to use the exclamation to impress the people the more with the lesson he was giving them. In Siena he would address the people repeatedly with the words: "Oh my fellow-citizens and you venerable ladies!" He knew how to lay bare the crimes and weaknesses of the men, but he did not spare the women. How gently yet how adroitly he would make fun of their faults and vanity. They took it all in good spirits, laughed with him, and applied the lesson to themselves. With an adjective he could nail the various faults of these women. He would call them "liliated women," "bejewelled women," "long-sleeved women," "door-way women," "window-women who balustrade the passers-by." He would create little scenes and take the parts of three or four persons to illustrate some point.

He spoke to the people "in lingua dimestica" (domestica). He returned to the main theme of his sermon often and made them see the main outlines and explained the principal truths of faith and morals. All he taught was clear-cut and plain. He used to say he does not speak French to them ("in francioso") but their own tongue and this with a clearness of the noon-day sun. Giovanni Minozzi writes of Bernardine:

Formidable and sweet, tender and tremendous, he had the love of a father and the severity of a judge; the tenderness of a mother and the

vigorous discipline of a teacher. Fiery and moderate, ardent and modest, he judges from on high all persons freely . . . great and small, people and princes, humble and powerful . . . and this he does with a fearless yet humane and devout superiority of the messenger of Christ.<sup>41</sup>

Generally after an hour or so the sermon is ended. He has held the attention of this great crowd thinking and feeling with him. They have all become one heart and one soul with Bernardine. They heard many stories, descriptions, examples, digressions, jokes, metaphors, and repetitions of the main points of the sermon. But in their minds the truth is clear; in their hearts a new fire of love for God and man burns to rejoice Siena. Bernardine goes into retirement for the day. His task is done. Like another Francis he has again been the herald of the Great King. He thanks God in earnest prayer. Bernardine prepares for tomorrow's discourse.

At a later time we hope to consider more intimately the popular sermons of St. Bernardine of Siena. For the present, we have considered him as he stood before the people; and we can see in some way why he was "the Trumpet of Heaven"; why he had such marvellous power over souls. He was a holy leader of men, whose eloquence was sublime and whose mind and heart were enlightened and inflamed with love for Christ and zeal for immortal souls. We close with the words of Abbot Guéranger, O. S. B.:

How beautiful, O Bernardine, are the rays that form the aureola round the Name of Jesus! . . . This Name, for which thou didst so lovingly and zealously labour, gives thee to share in its immortal victory. Now, therefore, pour forth upon us, even more abundantly than when thou wert here on earth, the treasures of love, admiration, and hope, of which this divine Name is the source.

Apostle of Peace! Italy, whose factions were so often quelled by thee, may well number thee among her protectors. . . .

Illustrious son of the great patriarch of Assisi! The seraphic order venerates thee as one of its main supports. Thou didst reanimate it to its primitive observance; continue . . . to protect the work. The Order of St. Francis is one of the grandest consolations of holy Mother Church; make this order forever flourish, protect it in its trials, give it increase in proportion to the necessities of the faithful; for thou art the second Father of this venerable family, and thy prayers are powerful with the Redeemer, whose glorious Name thou didst confess upon earth.<sup>42</sup>

41. Don Giovanni Minozzi, "S. Bernardino da Siena," in *Collez. Il pensiero cristiano* (Amatrix, Milano, 1928), p. 32.

42. Abbot Guéranger, O. S. B., *The Liturgical Year* (3rd edn., Herder, St. Louis, Mo., 1904), II, pp. 588, 589.

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CUTHBERT GUMBINGER, O. F. M. CAP.

*Mary Immaculate Friary,*  
Garrison, N. Y.

## RAPHAEL'S DISPUTA

THE frescoes of the *Stanza della Segnatura* breathe the spirit of the Franciscan philosophy of the late Middle Ages. They glorify divine and human wisdom. Science, justice, and grace are the paths leading to that wisdom. "Nemo venit ad sapientiam nisi per scientiam, iustitiam et gratiam," St. Bonaventure wrote in his *Itinerarium mentis* (C I, 8). The spirit of the Renaissance added poetry to them, described since the times of Petrarch as a product of divine inspiration, or as Landino, contemporary of young Raphael, called it, "quasi-theology." The natural light which was given to the soul from its creation illumines the groups of the scientists and philosophers of the School of Athens. To achieve the highest enlightenment, however, the superior and higher light of grace is needed. The descent of this light is demonstrated in the *Disputa*. It envelops the people gathered around the central altar and spreads its rays over the terrestrial paradise, Mount Parnassus, embracing the group of theologians in the School of Athens.

The *Disputa* is distinguished by high festivity, solemnity, and monumentality. Within the realm of modern art, there is, perhaps, only the Last Judgment of Michelangelo which is comparable, as far as monumentality is concerned, to Raphael's famous fresco. This monumentality is achieved by the strictly symmetrical structure of the whole composition and by the repeatedly applied motive of the semicircle within the semicircular frame. Each single figure of the painting is a monument in itself though vigorously bound within the entity of the complex composite. An abundance of beautiful motives is integrated into this perfectly harmonic unity by partly open and partly veiled symmetries and contrapostos.

The symmetrical construction of the composition leads the eye immediately to the central axis of the picture. In addition, the fair youth in the extreme left foreground points also to the center where, in the lower part of the fresco, an altar surmounted by a monstrance rises. This beautiful figure shows an ideal appearance and an ideal drapery. In one of the first sketches for the *Disputa* (Windsor Castle, Fischel No. 258) it is presented as an ideal being of feminine form, not standing on the ground but on a cloud floating in the air. It does not represent an identifiable personality but serves as the guide who

leads not only the figures of the left side of the picture but also the spectators towards the center of the representation.

The mathematical center of the composition is formed by the dove of the Holy Spirit which is itself a link in a perpendicular composed by God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and the Eucharist on the altar. A mighty bank of clouds divides the picture into an upper and a lower half. Below, we see the earth and the firmament, above, the cloudless heaven of the blessed, the cristallinum, and the golden light (*lux pura*) of the empyreum. This golden light descends in the center and surrounds with golden rays the figures of the Lord and the Holy Spirit, finally welling up in the splendor of the golden monstrance.

The representation of the Holy Trinity in the order in which it is accomplished in the Disputa is quite uncommon in fine art. Father Remigius Boving<sup>1</sup> demonstrates in a convincing manner that such order was demanded by the content of the representation. It is the order of the revelation which is depicted here, the gradual flowing down of the Holy Spirit from the Father to the Son, and from the Son to mankind. Boving was the first to recognize the close connection between the ideas of St. Bonaventure and the world of thought of the Disputa.

This does not necessarily mean that Raphael relied directly on St. Bonaventure's writings. On the contrary, it is highly probable that the program of the Disputa and the other representations in the *Stanza della Segnatura* was outlined by a contemporaneous theologian, not without the direct influence of the Pope himself. Hypothetically I have mentioned, in another place, the name of the Cardinal Marco Vigerio as the possible author of the program. At any rate, it seems to me beyond doubt that a Franciscan theologian must have been responsible for it, who, for his part, depended upon the great Franciscan theologians and philosophers of the thirteenth century, upon Nicholas of Lira and especially the Seraphic Doctor.

Bonaventure had been sainted under the pontificate of the beloved and admired uncle of Julius II, Sixtus IV. This pope plays an important rôle in our painting, being represented here in full figure

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1. P. Remigius Boving, O. F. M., "St. Bonaventura und der Grundgedanke der Disputa Raffaels," *Franziskanische Studien* (Münster, 1914), p. 1-17.

at a compositionally significant place. An ideal figure in the extreme foreground of the right side, not a youth but a man, closely corresponding to the guide of the left side, points at him. It is the world of this Franciscan pope which is depicted in the *Disputa*. It was, in all likelihood, also under his reign that Bonaventure, in effigy, entered the Vatican palace, when one of the portraits painted by Fra Angelico (in the chapel of Nicholas V, originally representing, most probably, St. Jerome) was rechristened St. Bonaventure.

Since that time St. Bonaventure appears as a Saint of the Catholic Church in numerous representations, but nowhere in so dominant a position as in the *Disputa* where he is clearly preferred above St. Thomas Aquinas. It is just as characteristic that St. Francis plays a much more important rôle in this picture than does St. Dominic, and that three of the four doctors of the church mentioned by Vasari as represented in it are Franciscans: St. Bonaventure himself, Nicholas of Lira, and Duns Scotus.

The oldest existing interpretation of the *Disputa* issues from Vasari. According to him, the picture shows

the Heaven, with Christ, Our Lady, St. John the Baptist, the Apostles, the Evangelists, and the Martyrs, enthroned on clouds, with God the Father sending down the Holy Spirit over them all, and particularly over an endless number of saints who are below, writing the Mass, and engaged in disputation about the Host, which is on the altar. Among these are the four Doctors of the Church, who have about them a vast number of saints, such as Dominic, Francis, Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventure, Scotus and Nicholas of Lira, with Dante, Fra Girolamo Savonarola of Ferrara, and all the Christian theologians, with an indefinite number of portraits from nature; and in the air are four little children who are holding open the Gospels. . . . The four Doctors of the Church, illuminated by the Holy Spirit, are unravelling and expounding, by means of the Holy Scriptures, all the problems and difficulties of the Gospels.

Although this interpretation is not altogether all-embracing, it is, in the main, correct. The *Disputa* is, as Vasari describes it, actually a representation of heaven and an illustration of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit.

Uppermost, in the empyreum, God the Father is shown as Creator of the world and the source of the Word (*Verbum increatum*). Under Him, in a central and dominating position, the Son (*Verbum incarnatum*) is depicted. From Him the light of the Holy Spirit spreads over mankind through the mediation of the Eucharist sacra-

ment. St. Bonaventure delineates this sequence of the revelation in the tenth chapter of the fourth part of his *Breviloquium*:

[Deus] misit Filium et Spiritum Sanctum ad salutem humani generis . . . [Filius] misit ignem Spiritus Sancti ut inflammaret ad caritatem . . . misit Spiritum Sanctum ad aedificandum Jerusalem terrestrem . . . cum descendit Spiritus Sanctus, effusa est plentitudo charismatum ad Corpus Christi mysticum consummandum.

There is no higher science, no wisdom without these gifts of grace.

At the right side of the Savior, St. John the Baptist is seated pointing to the Lord; at his left side the Holy Virgin in the attitude of intercessor. We know this combination from the representations of the Last Judgment. Here, however, Christ is not shown as the Lord of Judgment, as in Michelangelo's famous fresco, but as the Lord of Grace. He is the Redeemer and Son of Man, demonstrating His wounds; He is the clarifying light and the proof of the certainty of revelation. The Madonna also is represented here as an element of grace; so functions, too, the Eucharistic sacrament, as medicine and symbol of the divine forgiveness, and in the sense of symbol of supernatural knowledge as well.<sup>2</sup>

At either side of the Holy Spirit, four angels hold the Gospels. The bearers of the three gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke look downward. The angel with the gospel of St. John looks upward, towards a saint enthroned on the cloud. David, the royal seer and poet, turns his head with an indescribable expression of questioning and confident fervor to the latter: "God be merciful to us, and bless us; Cause His face to shine upon us: That we may know Thy way upon earth: Thy salvation among all nations. Let the peoples give thanks to Thee, O God: Let all the peoples give thanks to Thee."<sup>3</sup> And the saint, St. John himself, writes down the dictation:

2. Kneller, "Raffael's Disputa," *Stimmen aus Maria Laach*, vol. 72 (1907), p. 294 et seq., describes the sacrament on the altar as the symbol of supernatural knowledge.

3. Psalm 66. Nicholas of Lira, *Post. Perp. in Un. Bibl.* (Basle 1506-1508), Part III, p. 176, interprets this psalm as a prophecy of the gifts of grace in reference to the Incarnation of Christ. It is a prayer for unveiling the paths to revelation. So it was interpreted also by other theologians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It contains, furthermore, according to Nicholas of Lira, an allusion to the Last Judgment ("Thou judgest the people with justice"). Thus, the group of the Lord, flanked by the Virgin and the Baptist, becomes understandable in a picture not representing the Last Judgment.

St. John (and the whole group of figures disclosing the roads to revelation) gives the answer. The expression of St. John's face shows that he does not describe the horrors of the Last Judgment but the victory.



Blessed are they who are called to the marriage supper of the Lamb (Apoc. 19, 9).

Flanking the central group, within the cristallinum, these two figures and the other representatives of the blessed are seated on the cloudbank. They represent those who are possessed by the highest wisdom and have achieved the *apex mentis*. They are the masters of the mystic theology to whom God has revealed Himself — the visionaries. The two pillars of the Church, St. Paul and St. Peter, sit at each end of the semicircle. Next to them, in alternative succession, representatives of the time before and after the revelation are seated. Most of them are easily recognizable by their appearance and attributes. St. Peter is followed by Adam, St. John, David, St. Francis, and a less clear figure with a turbaned head. Beside St. Paul is Abraham, then a figure almost generally identified as St. James,<sup>4</sup> then Moses, a holy martyr, and a warrior from the Old Testament half veiled by the cloud. The representative of martyrdom is not characterized unmistakably and has been taken at times for St. Stephen, the protomartyr, and at times for St. Lawrence. Following the theory that all the figures represented here are only such blessed individuals who, according to the Scriptures or tradition, have received the word or a vision of God already on earth, I should prefer to see in the martyr uplifting his head, St. Stephen, who witnessed the glory of heaven; in the warrior, Joshua; and in the turbaned figure, Ezechiel or Esdras.

None of these seated figures seems to be engaged in any action directly connected with the central representation. Most of them do not even look at the central vision. Some of them, ostensibly, are concerned with other matters, some appear concentrated within themselves, and only St. Paul, St. Peter, and Moses look forward, towards the center of the picture. But even with the last three it can hardly be deduced from the expression on their faces that they really see the heavenly apparition. It may be that the rigorous point of view of St. Thomas Aquinas, shared by St. Bonaventure, plays its part here: that the full sight of divine majesty and glory and the knowledge of God *in essentia*, had been a privilege restricted to only a few earth-

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4. It seems most probable to me that this old interpretation is correct. It seems to refer to the following verse in the Epistle of St. James (1:17): "Every best gift, and every perfect gift, is from above, coming down from the Father of lights."

born individuals — according to St. Thomas, only to St. Paul and Moses.

Some of the painted figures, however, are concerned with actions which connect heaven with the groups on earth or with other representations in the *Stanza della Segnatura*. St. Stephen looks upwards, to the ceiling of the *Stanza*, where the fresco of Apollo and Marsyas which symbolizes martyrdom as a path to revelation is depicted. Compositionally, and therefore, as it cannot be otherwise with Raphael, also mentally, connected with this figure on the other side is St. Francis. He shows the stigmata on his left hand, the symbol of the fervent and transcendent love leading to God, and points with the other hand downward, to the fair youth guiding mankind to the altar. Thus, the Baptist pointing to the Lord, the Holy Virgin interceding with Him in favor of the sinners, the Holy Spirit and the Host, and St. Stephen and St. Francis form, together, within the greater unity of the whole composition, a special mental unity: They all demonstrate the roads to revelation.

The lower part of the fresco demonstrates the outpouring of the Holy Spirit over the earth. The Word leaves heaven and, through the sacrament, spreads over mankind. Laymen, clergymen, monks, bishops, and popes group themselves in three main groups on both sides of the altar: one around the altar in the center, and one on the left and on the right of this central group. There are great differences between the last two groups.

The central group is formed by the four Fathers of the Church, the writer to whom St. Augustine dictates, the kneeling monk at the left side of the altar, and the two figures in the background, one of which points to heaven, the other to the sacrament. Farther back there is the head of a friar who may be identified, following the hint of Vasari, with Duns Scotus, the *Doctor Subtilis* of the Church, since it shows some resemblance to other representations of this thinker.

The Fathers of the Church are represented in a manner characterizing different kinds of apperception. St. Jerome seems absorbed in deep thought. St. Gregory looks upward with a loving expression on his face. St. Ambrose, unfolding his hands and looking ecstatically to heaven, seems thrilled by a vision. St. Augustine, in possession of the knowledge, dictates the truth received to the writer.

Of the two figures in the background one is draped in antique fashion while the other wears the garment of a priest. Both point to Christ, one to Christ in heaven, the other to the Christ of the sacrament. Both are represented ostensibly as teachers of the Fathers. We must look, therefore, to the apologists to find their prototypes, and all those interpretations and identifications which depict them as followers of the Fathers, like Peter Lombard, etc., are devious. I. W. Braun<sup>5</sup> and F. Bole<sup>6</sup> identify these figures with Justin Martyr and St. Ignatius of Antioch. According to them, Justin is identifiable by his position, his beard, his mantle, and his enthusiasm. The colors of St. Ignatius' mantle, green and gold, are, in their symbolic meaning of hope and burning love, characteristics of the Ignatian letters. But there are also other clues which make the identification of these much discussed figures rather conclusive. Both St. Ignatius and St. Justin were those apologists who were most closely connected with the doctrine of the Eucharist. St. Ignatius was the first theological writer who was chiefly concerned with the mystery of the Blessed Sacrament, and the first who used the word "Eucharist" (*Magn. c. xviii*). In Raphael's time, he held the foreground of interest, since the genuineness of his letters, defended by the Church, was doubted by the theological group who proceeded, later on, to Calvinism. Justin Martyr, in his first Apology (I, xvi, 2) formulated the dogma of the Real Presence which was accepted by the Church: "In the same way that through the power of the word of God Jesus Christ our Savior took flesh and blood for our salvation, so the nourishment consummated by the prayer formed of the words of Christ . . . is the flesh and the blood of this incarnate Jesus."

The friar kneeling before St. Jerome with the Scriptures in front of him can represent no other than Nicholas of Lira, the successor of St. Jerome as commentator on the Scriptures. His chief work, the *Postillae Perpetuae in Universe Biblie*, was the authoritative commentary in Raphael's time, published between 1470 and 1520 in no less than four monumental editions. Traces of it are to be found in many works of art of that time, not least in the works of Raphael and Michelangelo.

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5. I. W. Braun, *Raffaels Disputa* (Düsseldorf, 1859).

6. F. Bole, *Meisterwerke der Malerei* (Berlin, 1893), p. 73 et seq.

On the left side, mankind is guided to knowledge and truth. A tall figure, in antique raiment, with books at his feet, forms the pivot of the whole assembly. He represents a sage and writer of antiquity calling attention to the books before the altar. If we wish to identify him we should think of a personality such as Boethius. Behind him a group of young men prostrate themselves before the altar. In the background groups of monks and clergy are visible. The only group which seems to be really engaged in a dispute is that of the laymen at the extreme left side. The youthful guide refers them to the altar as the final answer.

On the right side popes, doctors of the Church and monks, in the midst of them the laurel-crowned poet, represent the Church erected on the ground of knowledge. In the foreground stands the imposing figure of Sixtus IV, the identification of which we owe to Wickhoff.<sup>7</sup> Between the two greatest doctors of the Church, St. Thomas Aquinas and St. Bonaventure, a holy pope is to be seen. He is characterized by the palm as a martyr, by the book he holds as a writer. Kneller<sup>8</sup> interprets him as Clement I. Since Clement was known as the author of the Clementine letters only, I should prefer to think of this figure as that of Sixtus I, to whom a commentary was ascribed, the first pope who bore the name of the idol of Julius II.

The ideal figure pointing to Sixtus IV and the other assembly looks back at a man who is characterized by his cap as a builder. Undoubtedly, the latter is associated with the architectural structure in the background, which is contrasted, on the left side, by the friendly landscape of a green hill and trees, cultivated by industrious

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7. F. Wickhoff, "Die Bibliothek Julius II," *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, vol. XIV (Berlin, 1893). This interpretation of Wickhoff is accepted today almost unanimously, although it is based merely upon the resemblance to other representations of this Pope. The love and admiration entertained by Julius II for his uncle, and the high esteem which Sixtus enjoyed as a theologian (see the passus in De Grassi's ceremonial quoted by Steinmann, *Die Sixtinische Capelle*, I, Anhang 2, p. 608) may support this opinion. On the other hand, however, it is quite possible that Raphael painted another pope to whom he gave the features of Sixtus IV. Some of the old commentators referred to this figure as to the representation of Innocent III without further substantiating this interpretation. It is not impossible that it originated in a sound tradition: Innocent III was the Pope to whom St. Francis presented his rules for approval, and who, approving the foundation of the Franciscan order, ordained St. Francis a deacon.

Some modern authors, after having accepted the opinion of Wickhoff, transferred, thoughtlessly, the name of Innocent III to the holy pope between St. Thomas and St. Bonaventure.

8. *Vide* note 2.

people. We see there a small house, and another building, not much larger, in the process of construction. On the right side, however, the building under construction reveals powerful forms. From the square stones, which are already in evidence in the group of the theologians of the School of Athens, a temple of God is to be built, the temple of the Church, the terrestrial Jerusalem, a work of knowledge and wisdom. We may not be wrong if we see here an allusion to the already planned erection of St. Peter's.

Knowledge, wisdom, and charity are closely connected in the representation of the Disputa. Knowledge and revelation are both brought about by grace. That is the idea underlying the philosophy of St. Bonaventure and the work of Raphael in the *Stanza della Segnatura*.

The author is well aware that, in the foregoing, he has given merely an outline of a very complicated and intricate program. The enormous richness of the mental conception in the Disputa is only paralleled by the incomparable richness of the formal composition. All the figures of the fresco are interconnected by the most subtle mental relations as well as by the most subtle formal constructions. Each group of thoughts is answered by a group of forms which can be spelled out of the whole by abstraction. Although Raphael rivals with nature in multiformity, everywhere a complete congruence of the mental and the formal world is evident.

The Disputa is the most festive picture within Christian art. Only a few of the greatest works of the sister art, music, can compare with it in this respect. Nowhere, within the realm of the fine arts, has the gospel of the revelation, the triumphant gospel of the power of wisdom and knowledge, been heralded so mightily. Nowhere has heaven shown itself so great and festive.

The impression created by this picture might not, perhaps, be better characterized than by the ecstatic verses of the great Florentine poet:

O Gioia! o ineffabile allegrezza!  
O vita intera d'amore e di pace!  
O senza brama sicura ricchezza!

HARRY B. GUTMAN

*New York City*

## ADDITIONAL REMARKS

Mr. Gutman kindly granted the writer permission to make some additional remarks on his excellent article. Since Mr. Gutman proves the Franciscan and even Bonaventurian influence upon the *Disputa* by sound historical reasons, the temptation arises to locate the source of this influence, that is to say, to indicate certain texts which influenced Raphael through the intermediary of some unknown Franciscan theologian. Father Remigius Boving, once a collaborator at Quaracchi and an excellent connoisseur of Italian art as well as of St. Bonaventure, made the first, and I dare say, a happy attempt in indicating as the source the prologue of the *Breviloquium* of St. Bonaventure. (Cf. his article in *Franziskanische Studien*, quoted by Mr. Gutman.) On the following pages I will try to outline these ideas in comparing certain texts of St. Bonaventure with the whole and with details of the *Disputa*. Since Father Remigius was my teacher in art and since I am, of course, acquainted with his article on this subject, it might have been sufficient to refer, to him as the originator of the following theological explanation though we may disagree in details. Our explanation will be more a scheme and as short as possible.

## 1. THE GENERAL MEANING OF THE DISPUTA

As the title indicates the general meaning of the *Disputa* is the representation of Theology: *Notitia divinarum rerum*. But Theology is certainly understood in the sense of St. Bonaventure and not in that of St. Thomas or Duns Scotus. For the two latter Theology is, roughly speaking, about God; for St. Bonaventure the subject of Theology is Christ.<sup>1</sup> St. Bonaventure was known throughout the following ages as the classical upholder of this opinion and was criticized for it by many theologians. In Raphael's representation of Theology, Christ is the center of the whole picture: Christ in heaven and Christ upon earth in the Blessed Sacrament.

## 2. THE MEANING OF THE THREE SEMICIRCLES OF THE DISPUTA

According to St. Bonaventure in his most condensed and most beautiful exposition of Theology, namely, his *Breviloquium*, the sublimity of Sacred Scripture or Theology consists in its description of the three Hierarchies or the three Holy Orders: The *Hierarchia terrestris* or *ecclesiastica*, the *Hierarchia caelestis* and the *Hierarchia supercaelestis*. These Hierarchies are arranged like steps leading from the lowest to the highest; the description of

1. Subiectum quoque, ad quod omnia reducuntur, quae determinantur in hoc libro (id est Sententiarum), ut ad totum integrum est Christus, prout comprehendit naturam divinam et humanam sive creatum et increatum, de quibus sunt duo primi libri; et caput et membra, de quibus sunt duo sequentes . . . *Prol. in libr. Sent.*, q. 1; t. 1, p. 7.

the lowest Hierarchy is more accessible than that of the middle, the highest being almost inaccessible. But the uniting factor in all these Hierarchies and within each is Christ, who is the "medium"; because He is not only the Hierarch by His assumed human nature in the ecclesiastical Hierarchy, but for the same reason also the Hierarch of the second Hierarchy, that of the angels or of heaven, and as middle Person He is the "medium" in that supercelestial Hierarchy which is the blessed Trinity.<sup>2</sup>

### 3. THE DOWNWARD MOVEMENT IN THE DISPUTA

The picture clearly shows a downward movement. This goes from the invisible Godhead — symbolized by the rays which lead to an imaginary point above the picture — to the celestial Hierarchy, and from there to the ecclesiastical Hierarchy; or in the words of St. Bonaventure: from the *verbum increatum* in the womb of the Godhead through the *verbum incarnatum* to the *verbum inspiratum*. This idea of the three words which are different manifestations of the one Word in God is so familiar to St. Bonaventure that it is useless to quote any particular text. I have no doubt that the meaning of this downward movement is to represent revelation, which according to St. Bonaventure belongs to illumination. The Seraphic Doctor used to connect this idea, as Prof. Gilson pointed out, with the passage of the Epistle of St. James: "Every best gift, and every perfect gift, is from above, coming down from the Father of lights." As such, it is quoted and referred to in preferred places in almost all the important works of St. Bonaventure, in *De reductione artium ad theologiam*, *Itinerarium mentis in Deum*, *Breviloquium*, *De Septem Donis Spiritus Sancti*, *Collationes in Hexaemeron*, and in

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2. Habet nihilominus sacra Scriptura in suo processu sublimitatem, quae consistit in descriptione hierarchiarum gradatim ordinarum, quae sunt hierarchia caelestis, angelica et divina, seu subcaelestis, caelestis et supercaelestis; ita quod primam describit patenter, secundam aliquantum magis occulte et tertiam adhuc magis occulte. Ex descriptione ecclesiasticae hierarchia est alta; ex descriptione angelicae altior; ex descriptione divinae altissima, ita ut possimus dicere illud Prophetae: Mirabilis facta est scientia tua ex me; confortata est, et non potero ad eam.

Et hoc quidem satis recte. Nam cum res habent esse in materia, habent esse in anima per notitiam acquisitam, habeant etiam esse in ea per gratiam, habeant esse in ea per gloriam et habeant esse in arte aeterna; philosophia quidem agit de rebus, ut sunt in natura, seu in anima secundum notitiam naturaliter insitam vel etiam acquisitam; sed theologia, tamquam scientia supra fidem fundata et per Spiritum Sanctum revelata, agit et de eis quae spectant ad gratiam et gloriam et etiam ad Sapientiam aeternam. Unde ipsa subternens sibi philosophicam cognitionem et assumens de naturis rerum, quantum sibi opus est ad fabricandum speculum, per quod fiat representatio divinorum, quasi scalam erigit, quae in sui infimo tangit terram, sed in suo cacumine tangit caelum; et hoc totum per illum unum hierarcham, Jesum Christum, qui non tantum ratione naturae humanae assumtae est hierarcha in ecclesiastica hierarchia, verum etiam in angelica, et media persona in illa supercaelestis hierarchia beatissimae Trinitatis, ita quod per ipsum a summo capite descendit unctiois gratia non solum in barbam, verum etiam usque in Ecclesiam militantem (*Brevil. prof. § 3, 1-2; ed. minor, p. 18 et seq.*).

other minor writings. This leading idea of referring every knowledge, natural and supernatural, to the gift from the Father of lights — and then through Christ and the Holy Ghost — animates the whole Philosophy and Theology of St. Bonaventure; it finds its characteristic expression in almost every chapter of the *Breviloquium* where the Seraphic Doctor proves every truth starting with the first principle, God, thus developing a true "theology from above."

We therefore see in the picture, light flowing from an imaginary point; and its first manifestation is Christ in the blessed Trinity, such as Christ dwelling in human flesh revealed it, and as Christ is still revealing it or manifesting it forever in heaven; and from Christ flows the light through the Holy Ghost, inspiring first the Evangelists, and then through Christ in the symbol of Faith, or the Holy Eucharist, the different parts of the Hierarchy.<sup>3</sup>

#### 4. THE UPWARD MOVEMENT IN THE DISPUTA

The downward movement in the picture is outbalanced by an upward movement which in the language of St. Bonaventure is the *Reductio*, the former often being called *Emanatio*. On that *Reductio* St. Bonaventure has written a special work: *De reductione artium ad theologiam*, explaining that all our knowledge, though scattered in many sciences, is united in theology and through theology is brought home to God in the intimate union upon earth in the *Unio mystica*. In our picture, this movement starts with the philosophers and the poets represented on both sides of the Disputa in the foreground and with architecture probably symbolized also by the cathedral being built in the background of the picture. From the "arts" it goes to the center of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, to Christ in the Holy Sacrament; from here, to Christ in heaven, and from here — Christ's hands are directed upward — to the Father, from whom comes all light, and it ends in the light of the invisible Godhead. The invisible God to whose union all knowledge leads, is the last goal of this movement.<sup>4</sup>

3. Ortus (theologiae sive Sacrae Scripturae) non est per humanam investigationem, sed per divinam revelationem, quae fluit a Patre luminum, ex quo omnis paternitas in caelo et in terra nominatur, a quo per Filium eius, Iesum Christum, manat in nos Spiritus Sanctus, et per Spiritum Sanctum dividenter et distribuentem dona singulis, sicut vult, datur fides, et per fidem habitat Christus in cordibus nostris. Haec est notitia Iesu Christi, ex qua originaliter manat firmitas et intelligentia totius Sacrae Scripturae. *Prol.* 2; ed. m. p. 8.

4. Et ut ad istum fructum et terminum recto perveniamus progressu per viam recti itineris Scripturarum, inchoandum est ab exordio, hoc est, ut cum mera fide ad Patrem luminum accedamus, flectendo genua cordis nostri, ut ipse per Filium suum in Spiritu Sancto det nobis veram notitiam Iesu Christi et cum notitia amorem eius, ut sic ipsum cognoscentes et amantes, et tamquam in fide solidati et in caritate radicati, possimus ipsius Sacrae Scripturae noscere latitudinem, longitudinem, altitudinem et profundum, et per hanc notitiam pervenire ad plenissimam notitiam et excessivum amorem beatissimae Trinitatis, quo Sanctorum desideria tendunt: in quo est status et complementum omnis veri et boni (*prol.* 5; p. 10; cf. ed. m. p. 9).



## 5. THE MEANING OF THE SO-CALLED ALTAR

Almost all the interpreters of the Disputa see in the big square stone in the center of the ecclesiastical Hierarchy an altar. So far as I see, no clear liturgical indication warrants this interpretation. If we take into consideration simply what Raphael painted we are allowed to say only that there is a big square stone; in the ornaments of this there is visible the name of Pope Julius II; and on this stone stands the Blessed Sacrament, not for the purpose of adoration, because the attitude of the persons surrounding it fail to give any indication of acts of adoration (hence the name "Disputa!"). I think, if we admit the Bonaventurian influence and especially that of the prologue to the *Breviloquium*, an easy explanation is at hand. The center of the ecclesiastical Hierarchy is Christ, not seen in His humanity, but believed by faith. The Blessed Sacrament is the "*Mysterium Fidei*," it is the symbol of Faith or of Christ dwelling by faith in our hearts. This symbol of faith stands upon a stone. This stone is either Christ—the cornerstone—or the rock upon which Christ built His Church, namely, Peter and his successors; hence the name of the Pope on this stone. After some hesitation, I now prefer this latter interpretation to the former.<sup>5</sup>

## 6. THE POSITION OF THE HOLY GHOST

In the Disputa the Holy Ghost is not, as is usual, located above Christ, but below. This very peculiar feature finds its explanation in the texts quoted above.

## 7. THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE PERSONS OF THE CELESTIAL HIERARCHY

A very peculiar feature of the Disputa is the alternative arrangement of persons of the Old and New Testament. We understand it easily in applying St. Bonaventure's teaching. Ezechiel (1, 15 *et seq.*) saw in his vision a wheel within a wheel, and that means according to the Seraphic Doctor that the Old Testament is in the New Testament and vice versa.<sup>6</sup>

5. ... datur fides, et per fidem habitat Christus in cordibus nostris. Haec est notitia Iesu Christi, ex qua originaliter manat firmitas et intelligentia totius sacrae Scripturae. Unde et impossibile est, quod aliquis in ipsam ingrediatur agnoscendam, nisi prius Christi fidem habeat sibi infusam, tamquam totius Scripturae lucernam et ianuam et etiam fundamentum. Est enim ipsa fides omnium supernaturalium illuminationum, quamdiu peregrinamur a Domino, et fundamentum stabiliens et lucerna dirigens et ianua introducens. ... Mediante igitur hac fide, datur nobis notitia Sacrae Scripturae, secundum influentiam Trinitatis beatae, iuxta quod expresse insinuat Apostolus in prima parte auctoritatis prius inductae (*prol.* 2; p. 8).

6. ... ut sic mira sit conformitas inter vetus et novum testamentum, non solum in continentia sensuum, verum etiam in quadriformitate partium. In cuius figuram et consignationem vidit Ezechiel rotas quatuor facierum et rotam in medio rotae, quia vetus est in novo, et e converso ... *Prol.* § 1, 1; p. 12. (Cf. *Sent.* 3, d. 25, a. 2, q. 1, ad. 1; t. 3, p. 546.)

These remarks will be sufficient to show that the representation of Theology in the Disputa can be referred to the description of Theology by St. Bonaventure, and the least I dare say is, that a mediate influence of this description on Raphael is very probable. Finally I should like to call the attention of the reader to another article of Mr. Gutman: "The Medieval Content of Raphael's School of Athens," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. II, No. 4 (October, 1941) where likewise the Franciscan influence is proven. Another article on the other Frescoes of the *Stanza della Segnatura* may be published by the learned author in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*.

PHILOTHEUS BOEHNER, O. F. M.

*St. Bonaventure College,*  
*St. Bonaventure, N. Y.*

# THE CENTILOQUIUM ATTRIBUTED TO OCKHAM

## Part IV

### [13<sup>a</sup> CONCLUSIO]

- A Decima tertia conclusio est ista, quae ponitur tamquam probabilis, semper tamen sub protestatione in declaratione conclusionis primae posita:

QUOD PARTES CHRISTI COMMUNICANT IDIOMATA, VIDELICET  
QUOD TALES PROPOSITIONES SUNT VERAE: CAPUT CHRISTI EST  
PES CHRISTI, OCULUS CHRISTI EST MANUS CHRISTI, ET SIC DE  
CONSIMILIBUS.

Ista conclusio taliter declaratur: Filius Dei assumpsit naturam humanam, ergo assumpsit quamlibet partem illius naturae, ergo assumpsit caput, et pedem et manum, et sic de aliis partibus. Igitur pari ratione, qua fit communicatio idiomatum inter Filium Dei et naturam humanam, praecise ratione assumptionis naturae humanae, fiet etiam communicatio idiomatum inter Filium et partes talis naturae assumptae, quae consimiliter assumuntur. Ergo sicut haec est vera: Deus est homo, ratione assumptionis primae,<sup>1</sup> sic haec erit vera: Deus est caput, ratione consimilium assumptionis; et consimiliter potest probari, quod haec est vera: Deus<sup>2</sup> est pes. Tunc sic: iste Deus est pes Christi, iste Deus est caput Christi, ergo caput Christi est pes Christi. Et consimiliter de aliis partibus potest argui.

Item: Posito, quod Deus dimittat quamlibet partem naturae assumptae, quae non est caput vel pars capitis, et retineat caput assumptum, tunc quaero: utrum fiat communicatio idiomatum inter Deum et caput assumptum vel non. Si sic, videtur propositum concedi, quia ita bene est caput assumptum et ita intense reliquis partibus assumptis, sicut tunc, scilicet reliquis partibus dimissis. Ergo si tunc fieret idiomatum communicatio fiet etiam et nunc.<sup>3</sup>

- B Sed contra istam conclusionem instatur: si talis assumptio esset semper sufficiens causa communicationis idiomatum inter Deum et naturam assumptam, sequeretur, quod tales propositiones essent verae: Deus est ista natura humana assumpta, natura divina est natura humana, Deitas est humanitas, ista natura, demonstrata natura divina, est ista natura, demonstrata natura humana.

Item: Sequeretur, quod in triduo mortis Christi, istae propositiones fuissent verae: Deus est corpus mortuum, Deus est anima separata a

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A: 1. naturae E; om. V.

2. capus V.

3. quia ita bene... / Si non, tunc sequitur, quod cum caput ita bene fuerit assumptum et ita intense cum reliquis partibus, quod sicut etiam fiebat communicatio cum omnibus partibus, quod nunc non fieret inter Deum et caput reliquis dimissis, quod non videtur verum. E.

corpore, anima separata a corpore est corpus mortuum,<sup>1</sup> corpus mortuum Christi esset corpus separatum a corpore mortuo Christi, et per consequens idem esset separatum a seipso; et non tantum sequerentur ista, sed quasi alia infinita, quae istis solutis faciliter possunt solvi.

- C Ad primum istorum dicitur concedendo<sup>1</sup> antecedens et negando consequentiam: quia quamvis assumptio alicuius naturae<sup>2</sup> in unitatem suppositi divini sit causa sufficiens communicationis idiomatum aliquarum dictionum, non tamen omnium. Nam quaedam sunt dictiones communicabiles et quaedam non communicabiles. Dictiones vero non communicabiles sunt illae, quae significant ita distincte sua significata et ita determinate, quod numquam accipiuntur pro aliquo alio vel aliquibus, et hoc vel ex natura impositionis talis dictionis vel ex communi vel unanimi usu omnium utentium talibus signis. Et talium quaedam sunt propria et quaedam appellativa:<sup>3</sup> propria sicut signa demonstrativa vel cum demonstrationibus accepta, cuiusmodi sunt ista: iste homo, istud mortuum, haec anima, et sic de consimilibus, quia numquam virtute alicuius assumptionis est haec possibilis: ista, demonstrata natura humana, est ista, demonstrata natura divina; nec similiter ista propositio: ista natura est ista natura vel haec res est haec res, demonstrando semper per primum demonstrativum naturam humanam et per secundum naturam divinam. Signa vero appellativa sunt talia: ista natura humana, humanitas, natura assumpta et consimilia abstracta, quae semper verificantur de pronomine demonstrante tale assumptum, sive tale fuerit assumptum, sive non. Et ideo per nullam assumptionem est ista possibilis: Deitas est humanitas,<sup>4</sup> Deus est natura assumpta, Deitas est natura humana assumpta, et sic de consimilibus compositis ex terminis non communicabilibus. Et ideo signanter in conclusione septima<sup>5</sup> dicebatur, quod omnis propositio mere affirmativa ex terminis communicabilibus composita etc. Patet ergo, quod assumptio est causa sufficiens communicationis idiomatum aliquorum terminorum, utpote communicabilium, sed non aliorum. Et ita non sequitur, quod ratione assumptionis erit haec vera: Deitas est humanitas, nec etiam aliae propositiones, quae in consequente<sup>6</sup> superius adducebantur.

- D Ad secundum dicitur concedendo consequentiam et consequens quantum ad aliquas propositiones, scilicet quae componuntur ex terminis communicabilibus, quae sunt istae: Deus est corpus mortuum - quia non est magis inconveniens concedere, quod Deus sit corpus mortuum, quam quod Deus moriebatur — Deus est anima, quia in illo triduo Deus non

B: 1. anima separata a c.../om. E V.

C: 1. *negando* A.

2. *creaturae* A.

3. *abstractiva* E (et in seq.).

4. abstracta, quae.../Et ideo talia abstracta sic accepta cum pronomine demonstrativo vel sine pronomine demonstrativo per nullam assumptionem tale assumptum verificetur de eis et ideo tales non sunt possibiles per aliquam assumptionem: Divinitas est humanitas E.

5. ista V; signanter.../quod sint communicabiles oportet secundum conclusionem illam ubi E.

6. *antecedente* E.

dimisit corpus nec etiam dimisit animam a tali assumptione humanitatis.<sup>1</sup> Tamen accipiendo humanitatem pro natura humana ex corpore et anima intellectiva composita non erat in triduo assumpta, quia illa non erat tunc in rerum natura.<sup>2</sup> Et ulterius etiam conceditur, quod in triduo fuit haec vera: anima est corpus, secundum quod expositorie<sup>3</sup> taliter potest probari: Iste Filius Dei est corpus, iste Filius Dei est anima, ergo anima est corpus etc. Et consimiliter conceditur, quod in triduo corpus mortuum erat separatum a corpore mortuo, quia iste Deus, qui est corpus mortuum communicatione, secundum suam animam est separatus a corpore mortuo. Sed ulterius negatur ista consequentia, igitur idem separatur a seipso, quia ista propositio quodammodo componitur ex terminis non communicabilibus, scilicet ex terminis relativis quandam demonstrationem importantibus. Sicut non sequitur: Deus homo assumpsit naturam humanam, ergo homo assumpsit naturam humanam, ergo homo assumpsit seipsum. Et propter hoc negatur, quod idem est separatum a seipso, quia non sequitur ex praedictis.

Verumtamen praedictis non obstantibus aliqui dicere volunt, quod termini sive dictiones significantes partes Christi non sunt termini communicabiles, quapropter ratione assumptionis non de se mutuo verificantur. Primum tamen probabilius esse videtur, et quilibet eligat, quod sibi melius placet.

[Nota, quod probabiliter certa 31. et 61. potest concedi, quod digitus Christi est deus et quod est homo. Et si quaeritur ergo: utrum est homo Christus vel alius homo? dicitur, quod non est alius homo, quia sic essent plures homines, quod est haereticum, sed est homo Christus. Et si dicatur nunc (?) ultra sic: homo Christus fuit ab aeterno, sed ille digitus non fuit ab aeterno, ergo etc. Negatur ibi minor, sicut potest probari sic: iste Deus fuit ab aeterno, ut docet fides; iste Deus est iste digitus, ut recta conclusio docet; igitur iste digitus fuit ab aeterno. Non tamen potest probari, quod natura assumpta est homo, quia vel esset homo Christus vel alius, ut patuit, nec homo Christus, quia ille fuit ab aeterno et natura assumpta non, quod tamen si nitetur probari, videlicet quod talis natura fuisset ab aeterno et hoc sic: iste Deus fuit ab aeterno, iste Deus est ista natura, ergo negatur minor, ut docet 31.]<sup>4</sup>

#### Remarks

We have no parallels for these discussions in Ockham, as mentioned above. Besides, it is worth while to note the addition in D, 1 (footnote), where we find a reference to a *Commentary on the Sentences*. This could be, though by no means necessarily is, a clue for the identification of the real author of the so-called *Centiloquium*. In any case, Ockham is out of the question here as the author. Another problem is the numbers in the addition at the end of this conclusion. Do they refer to the respective numbers of the *Centiloquium*? That is possible; and in that case they would be a reference to the *Syllogismus expositorius* used in these conclusions.

D: 1. In superiore margine nota marg. A: *Notandum quod unio facit communicationem idiomatum solum quoad terminos concretos importantes suppositum, quia solum ratione talis suppositi fit talis communicatio. Anima autem et corpus, quae sunt partes, dicunt naturam et non suppositum, propter quod non potest dici, quod Filius Dei sit anima vel corpus, quamvis personae divinae uniantur in unitatem suppositi. haec dicuntur libro 3. d. 21, q. una in fine.*

2. assumpta . . . /cum corpore anima, et tamen Deus non dimisit in illo triduo, quod assumerat, quia Deus erat in sepulchro cum corpore et in inferno cum anima E.

3. in expositione A.

4. [] add. in textu V.

[14<sup>a</sup> CONCLUSIO]

A Quarta decima conclusio est ista:

QUOD HOMO ASSUMPSIT NATURAM HUMANAM SIVE  
HUMANITATEM IN UNITATEM SUPPOSITI DIVINI.

Ista conclusio statim patet sic arguendo: Iste Filius Dei assumpsit humanitatem in unitatem suppositi divini; iste Filius Dei est homo; ergo homo assumpsit humanitatem in unitatem suppositi divini.<sup>1</sup> Tam maior quam minor est articulus fidei.

- B Sed contra istam conclusionem instatur: Si homo assumpsit humanitatem, cum illa humanitas assumpta sit homo, ergo homo assumpsit hominem: vel ergo seipsum vel illum; primum non potest dici, quia sic sequeretur, quod ibi essent duo homines, scilicet homo assumens et homo assumptus; et per consequens Beata Virgo habuit duos filios, scilicet hominem assumptem et hominem assumptum.
- C Ad illud breviter dicitur negando, quod illa natura humana assumpta sit homo nec<sup>1</sup> suppositum per se existens, quia suppositatur per suppositum divinum, nec est filius Beatae Virginis, quia non habuit nisi unicum filium, et ille est Filius Dei, et clarum est, quod illa natura assumpta sive illa humanitas non est Filius Dei, sicut patet per declarationem conclusionis proximae praecedentis. Et sic patet, quod ibi non sunt duo homines.

[15<sup>a</sup> CONCLUSIO]

A Quinta decima conclusio est ista:

QUOD NON OMNE ANIMAL RATIONALE MORTALE EST HOMO.

Illa conclusio declaratur sic: Natura assumpta est substantia animata sensibilis. Quia quod sit substantia notum est de se,<sup>1</sup> quia est ens, et non est accidens, ergo est substantia. Et quod sit animata, patet, quia est composita ex corpore et anima intellectiva.<sup>2</sup> Et quod sit sensibilis, patet, quia sentit multas poenas et passiones, sicut de se notum est, et ab omnibus conceditur. Ergo est animal, et clarum est, quod non est animal irrationale, ergo est animal rationale. Et quod sit mortalis, patet, quia potest vel saltem potuit mori; ergo natura ista assumpta est animal rationale mortale. Et tamen non est homo, sicut praedictum est, ergo non omne animal rationale mortale est homo.

- B Sed contra istam conclusionem instatur: Omnis propositio est falsa, in qua definitum<sup>1</sup> negatur a sua definitione; ista conclusio est huiusmodi, ergo ista conclusio est falsa. Ratione istius argumenti volunt aliqui

14, A: 1. ergo . . . om. E.

C: 1. *Respondeo quia non est E.*

15, A: 1. *videtur de se notum V; satis clarum est E.*

2. om. E.

B: 1. *affirmatum A.*

negare naturam assumptam esse animal, quia<sup>2</sup> non est substantia per se existens, quod requiritur ad hoc, quod sit animal. Et ulterius dicunt concedendo, quod aliquid est quod proprie loquendo non est substantia nec accidens, quia ista natura assumpta non est substantia proprie et stricte accepta, quia non est per se existens suppositaliter, nec etiam accidens, quia hoc nullus ponit, quamvis habeat aliqualem similitudinem cum accidente, quia substantivatur ab alio, quia sicut accidens substantivatur a suo subiecto, non tamen propter hoc sequitur, quod sit accidens, quia potest esse realiter<sup>3</sup> sine tali substantiatione. Et similiter: Forma substantialis sustentatur a materia et est in materia subiective, et ideo<sup>4</sup> habet magnam similitudinem cum accidente, et tamen non<sup>5</sup> est accidens.

Sed ex istis sequitur ita mirabilis conclusio sicut praecedens, scilicet quod aliquid ens existens est per se unum, quod nec est substantia nec accidens. Et ideo videtur in ista materia probabilior esse conclusio supradicta, scilicet quod non omne animal rationale mortale est homo.

Et si dicatur, quod quamvis ista natura assumpta sit animal rationale, non tamen est mortale, quia est corpus glorificatum, et per consequens induit immortalitatem, propter quod dicit Apostolus:<sup>6</sup> Christus resurgens ex mortuis iam non moritur, et mors illi ultra non dominabitur. Sed istud non videtur aliud quam cavillatorie dictum, quia ante mortem Christi clarum est, quod ista natura fuit mortalis, et tunc saltem fuit conclusio vera. Item: Ex hoc sequeretur, quod nullus homo post diem iudicii erit animal rationale mortale, quia quilibet homo tunc saltem salvatus erit glorificatus. Et ideo videtur probabilius dici, quod illud sit mortale, quod ex principiis suis naturalibus naturaliter potest mori vel aliquando potuit mori, quamvis per aliquod extrinsecum ab illa mortalitate praeservetur penitus.<sup>7</sup>

- C Aliter ergo respondetur ad argumentum, quod theologice loquendo, haec oratio: animal rationale mortale non est definitio convertibilis cum homine, sed oportet addere istam differentiam: supponibile [sic quod ista sit propria et convertibilis definitio hominis: animal rationale mortale suppositale].<sup>1</sup> Et ista definitio ratione ultimae differentiae non verificatur de natura assumpta. Et per hoc patet responsio argumenti.

#### Remarks

In this conclusion, at the very beginning, occurs one expression which Ockham hardly could have written: *Es quod sit animata, patet, quia est composita ex corpore et anima intellectiva*. According to Ockham, a human being is composed at least of three really distinct souls or forms: *forma corporeitatis*, *anima sensitiva*, and *anima intellectiva*. Cf. Quodl. II, 10 et 11 (ed. Argent.). In any case the expression is not Ockhamistic.

- B: 2. *quae* A.  
 3. *naturaliter esse* (*adesse* E) V E.  
 4. om. E; non A.  
 5. *ideo* A.  
 6. Rom. 6, 9.  
 7. *quamvis* . . . /om. V.

- C: 1. [ ] om. A E; pro "supponibile": *supponibile vel per se existens* E; *suppositale vel suppositaliter* V.

[16<sup>a</sup> CONCLUSIO]

- A Sexta decima conclusio est ista, et sequitur quasi immediate ex iam dictis, scilicet:

QUOD ALIQUOD ANIMAL<sup>1</sup> PER SE UNUM NON EST SUPPOSITUM  
ALICUIUS SPECIEI SPECIALISSIMAE.

Ista conclusio declaratur sic: Natura humana assumpta est animal, sicut iam dictum est, et est per se unum, sicut de se patet, quia est composita ex materia et forma, quae faciunt essentialiter unum. Et tamen ista natura assumpta non est suppositum alicuius<sup>2</sup> speciei specialissimae, saltem simpliciter, quia non est suppositum speciei<sup>3</sup> humanae nec alicuius alterius, sicut probari potest inductive.

Item: Aggregatum ex natura assumpta et natura divina est aliquid per se unum, et tamen non est suppositum alicuius speciei specialissimae, quia nec speciei<sup>4</sup> humanae nec alicuius alterius, sicut patet inductive.

Et quod non sit suppositum speciei humanae declaratur: quia si esset suppositum speciei humanae, tunc esset homo. Falsitas consequentis patet, quia non est homo Christus; nam quidquid est homo Christus, fuit ab aeterno; hoc aggregatum ex natura humana et natura divina non fuit ab aeterno;<sup>5</sup> ergo hoc aggregatum non est homo Christus; nec alius homo: quia sic essent ibi duo homines, quod omnes theologi negant. Et pari ratione non videtur magis<sup>6</sup> inconueniens ponere, quod aliquid animal<sup>7</sup> per se unum non sit suppositum alicuius speciei specialissimae.

[17<sup>a</sup> CONCLUSIO]

- A Decima septima conclusio est ista:

QUOD ALIQUOD ENS PER SE<sup>1</sup> UNUM NON EST SUPPOSITUM  
ALICUIUS SPECIEI SPECIALISSIMAE.

Et patet ista conclusio, sicut iam dictum est, de aggregato ex natura humana assumpta et natura divina.<sup>2</sup> Et quod istud aggregatum ex natura humana et natura divina non sit suppositum alicuius speciei specialissimae, patet in declaratione praecedentis conclusionis. Et quod sit per se<sup>3</sup> unum, declaratur sic: Quaecumque intensius uniuntur quam materia et forma, illa faciunt per se unum essentialiter; sed natura divina et natura humana assumpta in unitatem suppositi divini intensius uniuntur quam materia et forma; ergo faciunt essentialiter per se unum. Maior illius rationis videtur evidens, quia ex quo materia et forma ratione intensae unionis earum constituunt essentialiter per se unum, a fortiori ra-

- 
- 16, A: 1. om. E.  
 2. sup. . . /om. E.  
 3. saltem . . . /om. E; *see* add. E.  
 4. specialissimae . . . /om. E.  
 5. hoc aggregatum . . . om. V.  
 6. om. A.  
 7. *ens* A (et om. per se).
- 17, A: 1. om. A.  
 2. et n. d. /om. E.  
 3. *proprie* A.



tionem videtur quod illa, quae intensius uniuntur quam materia et forma, debent constituere per se unum. Et minor etiam<sup>4</sup> declaratur: Quia unio formae cum materia, licet sit magnae intensionis, non tamen est tantae, quod sit sufficiens causa faciendi<sup>5</sup> communicationem idiomatum, ut de se patet: quia propter hoc non possemus vere dicere, quod materia sit forma, vel quod informatum sit forma,<sup>6</sup> vel aliqua consimilia vocabula specialia ipsi materiae verificarentur de vocabulis specialibus ipsius formae; sed unio naturae humane ad naturam divinam est tantae intensionis, quod ipsa est sufficiens causa communicationis idiomatum inter naturam divinam et naturam humanam, sicut ex praedictis patet; ergo videtur plane, quod ista unio sit intensior valde quam unio materiae et formae.

B Sed contra istam conclusionem instatur: Quia si sic, sequeretur, quod pars alicuius totius esset aequalis vel saltem non minor suo toto, quod videtur esse contra primum principium istud, quod omne totum est maius sua parte; consequentia tamen patet, quia natura divina est infinitae virtutis, ergo non est minoris virtutis quam totum<sup>1</sup> aggregatum ex natura divina et humana.

C Ad istud respondetur,<sup>1</sup> quod nullum est inconueniens partem esse aequalem suo toti vel non esse minorem, quia hoc invenitur non tantum intensive sed etiam extensive. Intensive sicut in proposito vel ubicumque una<sup>2</sup> pars est infinitae virtutis intensive. Unde aggregatum ex Deo et mundo<sup>3</sup> non est maioris virtutis quam Deus solus intensive, cum ipse sit absolute infinitae virtutis intensive. Extensive vero patet, quod aliqua pars sit aequalis suo toti, sicut materia ignis est aequae longa, aequae lata, aequae profunda sicut totus ignis, cuius est materia; et similiter sua forma. Hoc etiam idem invenitur in quantitate discreta vel saltem in aliqua multitudine, in cuius aliqua parte non sunt pauciores unitates<sup>4</sup> quam in tota multitudine, quia in toto universo non sunt plures partes quam in una faba, ex quo in una faba sunt infinitae partes. Sed illud principium intelligitur sic, quod omne totum extensivum compositum ex partibus finitis integralibus est maius aliqua sua parte integrali, et etiam<sup>5</sup> quod omne totum virtutis compositum ex aliquibus virtutibus finitis est maius virtualiter aliqua sua parte finita.

D Et per ista patet responsio ad istam quaestionem laicorum quaerentium: quis portavit melius onus, quod umquam portabatur. Quibus si respondeatur, quod Beata Virgo portavit melius onus et pretiosius, quando portabat Christum,<sup>1</sup> obiciunt contra per hoc, quod asinus portavit melius onus, quia portavit tam Christum quam matrem, et mater

A: 4. *sed minor A.*

5. *suffi. m. E; fac. om. V.*

6. *quod in formatum.../om. V; vel subiectum materiale sit forma vel aggregatum, nec add. E; pro seq. nec E.*

B: 1. *sit A; ergo.../intensive, ergo non minor quam totum E.*

C: 1. *dico E; breviter dicitur V.*

2. *altera VE.*

3. *natura humana E.*

4. *virtutes A.*

5. *econverso A.*

D: 1. *portavit... om. A; pro onus / bonum E (ubique).*

solum Christum. Sed hoc non valet,<sup>2</sup> quia clarum est, quod Christus et mater non sunt aliquid melius quam Christus solus, quia Christus est infinitum bonum, et nullum infinitum proprie loquendo quod est infinitum<sup>3</sup> respectu cuiuscumque operationis potest aliquo modo excedi.

[18<sup>a</sup> CONCLUSIO]

A Decima octava conclusio est ista:

QUOD ALIQUOD ANIMAL<sup>1</sup> PER SE UNUM ET PER SE EXISTENS  
NON EST SUPPOSITUM ALICUIUS SPECIEI SPECIALISSIMAE  
SIMPLICITER.<sup>2</sup>

Ista statim declaratur: Quia aggregatum ex natura divina et natura humana est animal<sup>3</sup> ratione utriusque<sup>4</sup> partis, quia natura humana assumpta est animal, sicut patet per 16<sup>am</sup> conclusionem, et natura divina est animal, quia est homo,<sup>5</sup> ergo aggregatum ex utraque natura est animal ratione utriusque<sup>6</sup> partis. Et quod sit per se unum, patet per proximam conclusionem praecedentem. Et quod sit per se existens, patet, quia non est accidens, nec materia nec forma, vel pars alicuius substantiae;<sup>7</sup> nec est assumptum in unitatem suppositi alicuius; ergo est per se existens. Et quod non sit suppositum alicuius speciei simpliciter specialissimae, patet; quia non est suppositum speciei humanae, quia sic essent ibi duo homines, sicut<sup>8</sup> aggregatum et natura divina, quae est homo. Nec est suppositum alicuius alterius, sicut probari potest<sup>9</sup> inductive. Patet igitur conclusio.

B Sed contra istam conclusionem instatur: Quidquid est Christus, est homo; sed aggregatum ex natura humana et natura divina est Christus; ergo est homo. Maior est fidei; minor patet per illud, quod dicitur in symbolo fidei: Sicut ex anima et corpore<sup>1</sup> unus est homo, ita Deus et homo unus est Christus. Ex qua auctoritate videtur plane haberi, quod sicut compositum ex anima et corpore est homo, ita compositum<sup>2</sup> ex homine<sup>3</sup> et Deo sive ex natura humana et natura divina est Christus.

C Ad istud breviter<sup>1</sup> dicitur concedendo dictam auctoritatem ad intellectum Ecclesiae ipsam dicentis, quia per ipsam non vult aliud intelligi nisi quod sicut ad hoc, quod aliquid sit homo, requiritur compositio animae et corporis, ita ad hoc quod aliquid sit Christus, requiritur unio

D: 2. Sed ... /om. AV (textus corruptus).

3. quod ... /om. EV.

A: 1. *rationale* add. E.

2. *special. s. /humanae* E.

3. *rationale* add. E.

4. *alterius suae* E.

5. sicut ... /et non irrationale E.

6. r. u. /rationale alterius E.

7. *quia nec pes nec manus, quia nec est materia nec forma nec pars* add. A.

8. *si illud* V.

9. quia non est ... om. E.

B: 1. *Nam sicut anima rationalis et caro* sic fidelius ref. Symbol. Athanasianum E.

2. ex an ... /om. E.

3. *anima* A.

C: 1. om. A.

naturae divinae et naturae humanae. Sed ex hac<sup>2</sup> ulterius non sequitur, quod sicut ex una parte compositum est homo, ita ex alia parte compositum sive aggregatum est Christus, quia in hoc non attenditur similitudo. Sed sicut iam dictum est, ad hoc tantum, quod sicut anima et corpus sive unio ex anima et corpore requiritur ad hoc, quod aliquid sit homo, ita unio naturae humanae et naturae divinae requiritur ad hoc, quod natura divina sit Christus; quia aliter essent ibi tres homines, si auctoritas intelligeretur secundum quod videtur sonare, scilicet illa natura assumpta, quam videtur ista auctoritas hominem vocare, et natura divina, quae<sup>3</sup> secundum fidem est homo, et aggregatum ex utraque, quod videtur auctoritas vocare Christum. Sed clarum est, quod ibi non sunt tres homines. Ergo auctoritas non potest taliter<sup>4</sup> intelligi, sed secundum quod prius exposita fuit.<sup>5</sup>

[19<sup>a</sup> CONCLUSIO]

A Decima nona conclusio est ista, quae videtur sequi ex praedictis:

QUOD EX AGGREGATIONE SIVE<sup>1</sup> EX ASSUMPTIONE NATURAE IN UNITATEM SUPPOSITI DIVINI TRIA ANIMALIA RESULTANT, QUORUM UNUM TANTUM<sup>2</sup> EST SUPPOSITUM ALICUIUS SPECIEI SPECIALISSIMAE SIMPLICITER.

Ista conclusio<sup>3</sup> declaratur: Quia in tali unione natura humana assumpta est animal, sicut patet per 16<sup>am</sup><sup>4</sup> conclusionem; et aggregatum ex utraque natura est animal, sicut patet per 18<sup>am</sup><sup>5</sup> conclusionem; et natura divina est animal, quia est homo; et nullum istorum animalium est aliud, sicut de se notum est; et tantum<sup>6</sup> illud animal de numero istorum trium, quod est natura divina, est homo, sicut iam declaratum est in conclusione proxima praecedenti. Ergo iam conclusio est vera.

B Et si quaeretur,<sup>1</sup> quare est inconvenientius ibi ponere tres homines quam tria animalia, ad istud breviter dicitur, quod quia perfectius est esse hominem quam esse animal, ideo quamvis concederetur<sup>2</sup> aliquid esse animal non supponibile, non tamen propter hoc conceditur, aliquem esse hominem non<sup>3</sup> supponibilem, quia repugnat secundum istam imaginem hominis hominem perfectum suppositum non esse.<sup>4</sup> Non tamen reputo

C: 2. *hoc* A.

3. *quia* E.

4. *aliter* A.

5. non ... /*debet exponi secundum quod exposita fuit* E.

A: 1. *et* A.

2. *tamen* E.

3. *breviter* add. V.

4. 6 A; XV E.

5. *illam* V; X. E.

6. *tamen* E.

B: 1. *quaeratur* E; *quaeretur* A.

2. *conceditur* AV.

3. *om.* A.

4. *hominis ... /perfectum suppositum non esse vocatum* A; *ipsum perfectissimum non esse* E.

tantam necessitatem in iam dictis conclusionibus de ista materia, quamvis sint probabiles, quin si alicui placeret, posset negare ibi esse tria animalia, sicut negatur ibi tres homines esse. Sed tunc consequenter deberet dici, quod non omnis substantia animata sensibilis esset animal, sed omnis substantia animata sensibilis supponibilis, sicut superius dictum est; et quod non omne animal rationale mortale est homo, sed omne animal rationale mortale supponibile.

[20<sup>a</sup> CONCLUSIO]

A Vigesima conclusio est ista:

QUOD UNUM ET IDEM CORPUS NUMERO EST IN UNO LOCO  
EXTENSIVE ET IN ALIO LOCO NON EXTENSIVE CONSIMILI  
EXTENSIONE.

Ista conclusio declaratur de corpore Christi, quod est in caelo extensive et in Sacramento Altaris idem corpus numero non est extensive, quia totus Christus et<sup>1</sup> totum corpus Christi est sub hostiae qualibet parte, sicut plane patet per doctores theologicos,<sup>2</sup> et per Ecclesiam, quia frangendo hostiam consecratam potest totum corpus Christi esse sub utraque parte. Ergo sub tali hostia, ubicumque est caput Christi, ibi est pes Christi, et ubicumque est pars capitis, ibi est totum caput Christi, et ubicumque est aliqua pars corporis sub hostia vel sub illis accidentibus, ibi est totum totaliter corpus Christi; ergo corpus Christi non est ibi extensive, quia omnes suae partes mutuo sibi invicem inexistunt.<sup>3</sup> Et non habet ibidem partem aliquam extra partem, et hoc est sacramentaliter ibi esse. Et hoc idem accidit in coena Christi, quando corpus Christi in coena sedebat extensive, et illud idem corpus numero non extensive sed sacramentaliter, secundum quod iam dictum est, sub specie panis, quem consecravit, discipulis extabat.<sup>4</sup> Et totum istud patet per fidem catholicam.

[21<sup>a</sup> CONCLUSIO]

A Vigesima prima conclusio est ista:

QUOD ALIQUOD CORPUS REPLET ALIQUEM LOCUM EXTENSIVE,  
QUOD<sup>1</sup> TAMEN NON EST IN LOCO ILLO EXTENSIVE.

Ista conclusio sic persuadetur: omne corpus replet illum locum, in cuius loci qualibet parte existit, nec ipsum locum excedit, nec a loco exceditur. Sed corpus Christi in qualibet parte hostiae consecratae existit nec ipsum excedit locum ibidem nec exceditur ab illo loco; ergo corpus

20, A: 1. tot . . . /om. E; *corpus Christi* vel A.

2. *determinationes catholicas* E.

3. *coexistunt* E (huic lectioni favet Ockham, Quodl. IV, qu. 32: non sequitur, quod pes sit in oculo . . .; cfr. De Sacramento Altaris, cap. 6; ed Birck, p. 194, 25 ss).

4. *extat* A; *exhibebat* E.

21, A: 1. *quamvis* A.

Christi replet illum locum; et tamen corpus Christi non est extensive in illo loco, sicut patet per declarationem vigesimae conclusionis.<sup>2</sup>

[22<sup>a</sup> CONCLUSIO]

A Vigesima secunda conclusio est ista:

QUOD NON EST DARE MAXIMUM LOCUM, QUEM CORPUS  
CHRISTI NON POSSET ADIMPLERE.

Ista conclusio sic declaratur: Quia pari ratione, qua totum<sup>1</sup> corpus Christi coexistit cuilibet parti hostiae<sup>2</sup> consecratae istius quantitatis, cuius nunc<sup>3</sup> est, coexisteret etiam cuilibet parti hostiae cuiuscumque quantitatis esset, et per consequens non est<sup>4</sup> dare maximam hostiam, cuius cuilibet parti totum<sup>5</sup> corpus Christi non<sup>6</sup> posset coexistere simul, ergo non est dare maximum locum, quem corpus Christi non<sup>7</sup> poterit adimplere, ergo adhuc maiorem locum corpus Christi potest adimplere.<sup>8</sup>

Et si dicatur, quod ista adimpletio sive repletio localis<sup>9</sup> fit per accidentia, quae sunt ibi sine subiecto — Contra: Ponatur, quod Deus<sup>10</sup> illa accidentia annihilaret, ipso corpore Christi<sup>11</sup> remanente in eodem loco sacramentaliter, sicut prius, tunc talis locus est repletus, quia nulla pars loci est sine corpore; ergo talis locus est plenus, et non<sup>12</sup> per illa accidentia, sicut patet per casum.

[23<sup>a</sup> CONCLUSIO]

A Vigesima tertia conclusio est ista:

QUOD ALIQUOD CORPUS EXTENSUM POTEST MOVERI IN ALIQUO  
LOCO PLENO ALIO CORPORE SINE ALIQUA RESISTENTIA ILLIUS  
CORPORIS.

Ista conclusio declaratur sic: Ponatur quod totus locus aeris repleatur per corpus Christi sacramentaliter, et quod aer annihiletur, et quod lapis incipiat descendere a sphaera ignis ad sphaeram aquae, tunc clarum est, quod lapis movebitur in isto loco repleto corpore Christi<sup>1</sup> sine aliqua

21, A: 2. in cuius . . . /om. E; et ponit: *corpus Christi est corpus, ergo etc.*; declar . . . /om. V. et add.: *et patet de se, et minor per vigesimam conclusionem iam dictam.*

22, A: 1. om. A.

2. *parvae* add. E.

3. lectio dubia: modo (?) A.

4. *esset* A.

5. om. A.

6. om. A.

7. om. A.

8. ergo adhuc . . . om. V; istius quantitatis . . . /ita potest cuilibet magnae et maximae. *Ista consequentia nunc cuilibet clara est E.*

9. om. A.

10. *Corpus Christi* A.

11. c. Chr. /om. A.

12. et non /om. A.

23, A: 1. om. A.

resistentia corporis Christi.<sup>2</sup> Et quod iste casus sit possibilis, patet per vigesimam secundam conclusionem. Et quod corpus Christi non resistet motui lapidis videtur<sup>3</sup> quia per talem motum lapidis corpus Christi non dividitur in aliquo nec patitur sicut in fractione hostiae corpus Christi non frangitur; ergo corpus Christi tali motui lapidis non resistit.<sup>4</sup> Ista consequentia patet, quia si aer non divideretur nec in aliquo pateretur ab aliquo, quod movetur in aere, aer non resisteret tali motui; et pari ratione corpus Christi replens locum aeris, ex quo non dividitur nec patitur a lapide, non resistit motui lapidis. Et quod lapis descenderet per locum repletum corpore Christi, patet, quia<sup>5</sup> lapis nullam resistentiam extrinsecam<sup>6</sup> habet, sicut iam declaratum est, sed<sup>7</sup> habet resistentiam intrinsecam<sup>8</sup> successioni motus sufficientem. Et sic de ista conclusione.<sup>9</sup>

[24<sup>a</sup> CONCLUSIO]

## A Vigesima quarta conclusio est ista:

QUOD IDEM CORPUS NUMERO CUM EADEM RESISTENTIA IN-  
TRINSECA AEQUE VELOCITER POTEST MOVERI IN LOCO PLENO  
SICUT IN LOCO VACUO.

Et patet ista conclusio ex immediate praecedenti, quia lapis non velocius descenderet in loco vacuo quam in loco pleno aliquo corpore sacramentaliter, ex quo tale corpus penitus nihil resistit.

B Sed contra istam conclusionem videtur, quod sit Aristoteles in 4<sup>o</sup> libro Physicorum capitulo de vacuo, ubi deducit ad istam conclusionem tamquam ad impossibile, per hoc volens probare non posse vacuum esse.

Ad istud breviter dicitur,<sup>1</sup> quod Aristoteles non ponit repletionem loci sacramentalem, et ideo intelligit ibidem<sup>2</sup> de medio replente locum resistenti, quod quidem medium per talem motum dividitur et partitur, quod non est ad propositum.

(To be continued)

PHILOTHEUS BOEHNER, O. F. M.

St. Bonaventure College,  
St. Bonaventure, N. Y.

- 
- A: 2. om. A.  
3. *declaratur* V.  
4. *ibi naturaliter* add. V.  
5. *quamvis* add. E.  
6. *intrinsecam* V; pro seq. *habeat* E.  
7. *et; tamen* E.  
8. *intrinsecam* V.  
9. Et sic . . . om. EV.

- B: 1. *videtur* A; cfr. Aristot. l. c., cap. 8 (11); ed. Didot, t. 2., p. 294 s.  
2. om. A.

SCOTISTIC BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE LAST DECADE  
(1929-1939)

Part IV

JOLIVET, REGIS, S. J., *La notion de substance. Etude historique et critique.* Bibliothèque des Archives de Philosophie, Beauchesne, 1929.

A critical analysis of Duns Scotus' theory on substance is to be found on pp. 67-76.

KAUP, JULIAN, O. F. M., "Duns Skotus als Vollender der Lehre von der Unbefleckten Empfängnis." *Aus der Geisteswelt des Mittelalters, Studien und Texte (Martin Grabmann zur Vollendung des 60 Lebensjahres)*, 1935, pp. 991-1011. Also printed in: *Sechste und siebte Lektorenkonferenz der deutschen Franziskaner für Philosophie und Theologie (Franziskus-Druckerei, Werl i. W., 1934. In 8vo.)*, pp. 61-70.

By giving a conspectus of the teaching of St. Bernard, Alexander of Hales, St. Bonaventure, William of Ware, Robert Grosseteste, and Duns Scotus, the author demonstrates how the Subtle Doctor has brought to a successful solution the question about the Immaculate Conception. The author shows that Scotus' claim to title of "Marian Doctor" is a just one.

KEDZIOR, JULIANUS, O. F. M., "De schola Scotistica in Polonia." *Collectanea Franciscana Slavica. Acta Primi Congressus* (Zagrabiae, 1935), pp. 81-116.

Dividing his paper into two parts, the author treats of the Scotists at the University of Cracow in the first; the second part he devotes to bio-bibliographical notes on Franciscan Scotists in Poland. Finally, he gives a bibliography of Scotistic works published in Poland from 1500-1800.

KIRBY, GERALD, J., "The Authenticity of the 'De Perfectione Statuum' of Duns Scotus." *The New Scholasticism*, VII (1933), 134-152.

Father Longpré, in his work, *Philosophie de Duns Scot* (Paris, 1924), decided against the authenticity of *De Perfectione Statuum*. The author, after a critical analysis of Father Longpré's arguments, claims that the work is authentic, although no apodictical arguments can as yet be given. The doctrine on the separation of proprietary dominion and the use of goods, contained in *De Perfectione Statuum*, corresponds to that contained in the *Opus Oxoniense* and the *Reportata*. Numerous citations from Henry of Gand nullify Father Longpré's contention that the work was written after 1322, for at that time Henry of Gand was no longer considered among the leading philosophers.

KLEIN, JOSEPH, "Die Überlegenheit der Charitaslehre der Johannes Duns Skotus." *FS*, XVI (1929), 141-155.

The formal motive of charity, according to Duns Scotus, is *bonum in se*, i. e., the divine intrinsic goodness. Love of God because He is our Creator, our Friend, our Saviour, etc., are only accidental motives.

\_\_\_\_\_, "M. Eckhart — H. Schell — Johannes Duns Skotus." *FS*, XVII (1930), 306-307.

H. Schell, wishing to settle the controversy between Grabmann and Karrer concerning the teaching of Eckhart, denies the authenticity of the *Parisian Commentary* of Duns Scotus. The author refutes this assertion.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Materie und Form. Pluralität der Formen. Das Compositum. Das Individuelle. Erläuterungen zu P. Parthenius Minges, *Joannis Duns Scoti Doctrina Philosophica et Theologica*." *FS*, XIX (1932), 40-51.

In a series of articles, the author proposes to deal with Scotistic doctrine as presented by Father Parthenius Minges in his work, *Joannes Duns Scoti Doctrina Philosophica et Theologica* (Quaracchi, 1930). In each article the author comments on particular points. Here he considers the Subtle Doctor's theory of matter and form, the plurality of forms, the famous "forma corporeitatis," and the individual. Duns Scotus introduced perfect harmony between scholastic philosophy and modern natural sciences.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Ethos und Logos. Stufen des Sittlich-Guten. Gottes unumschränkte Macht. Erläuterungen zu P. Parthenius Minges, *Joannis Duns Scoti Doctrina Philosophica et Theologica*." *FS*, XIX (1932), 128-133.

The author explains the Subtle Doctor's doctrine about the primacy of the will, the concept of perfect charity and of moral goodness.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Skotus und Pelagius. Erläuterungen zu P. Parthenius Minges, *Joannis Duns Scoti Doctrina Philosophica et Theologica*." *FS*, XIX (1932), 256-258.

Duns Scotus is vindicated by the author against the accusation of being a semipelagianist.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Gottes Wissen. Skotus und M. Eckhart. Erläuterungen zu P. Parthenius Minges, *Joannis Duns Scoti Doctrina Philosophica et Theologica*." *FS*, XIX (1932), 327-335.

The author elaborates on Father Minges' presentation of Scotus' teaching about the knowledge of God. Comparison is made between the theodicy of Duns Scotus and that of Eckhart.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Gedanken zum Konstitutive Gottes." *FS*, XXI (1934), 201-207.

Imbued with the teaching of Duns Scotus, the author analyzes the formal constitutive of God.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Nochmals die Charitaslehre des sel. Johannes Duns Skotus." *FS*, XXIV (1937), 87-93; 364-383; XXV (1938), 178-195; 259-275.

A detailed study of the teaching of Duns Scotus on charity.

KLUG, HUBERT, O. F. M. CAP., "Die Lehre des hl. Bonaventura über die Aufgabe der eingegossenen Tugend des Glaubens und ihre Darlegung in den Sentenzen-Kommentaren des sel. Johannes Duns Skotus." *FS*, XXIV (1937), 105-121.

A critical study of infused Faith according to St. Bonaventure and Duns Scotus.

\_\_\_\_\_, *B. Joannis Duns Scoti doctrina de sacrificio praesertim de sacrosancto Missae Sacrificio* (*Collectanea Tarranensia*, Vol. I, Fasc. XI). Editorial Franciscana, Barcelona. In 8vo, pp. 80.



The author presents the notion of sacrifice in general. He then applies it to Duns Scotus' doctrine on the sacrifice of the Passion of Jesus Christ, to non-Christian sacrifices, and finally to the Holy Sacrifice of Mass.

\_\_\_\_\_, "L'activité intellectuelle de l'âme selon le Bienheureux Jean Duns Scot." *EF*, XLI (1929), 5-23; 113-130; 244-269; 381-391; 517-538; XLII (1930), 129-145.

Limiting himself to two authentic works of Duns Scotus, the *Opus Oxoniense* and the *Quodlibeta*, the author first gives a general view of the Subtle Doctor's theory of cognition, and then proceeds to a more detailed examination of the various activities of the intellect, e. g., apprehension, judgment, ratiocination, memory, etc.

(KLU)G HUBERTUS A. MOGUNTIA, O. F. M. CAP., "De convenientia doctrinae B. Joannis Duns Scoti circa essentiam sacrificii Eucharistici cum definitionibus Concilii Tridentini." *CF*, I (1931), 215-220.

After making a comparative study of the doctrine of Duns Scotus and of the Council of Trent about the essence of the Divine Sacrifice, the author concludes that not only does the teaching of Duns Scotus conform with that of the Council of Trent, but it also serves to illustrate and explain the definitions of the Council.

KRAUS, JOHANNES, "Die Universalienlehre des Oxforder Kंसlers Heinrich von Harclay in ihrer Mittelstellung zwischen skotistischen Realismus und ockhamistischen Nominalismus." *Divus Thomas* (Fribourg), X (1932), 36-58; 475-508; XI (1933), 79-96; 288-314.

This is a study of Henry of Harclay's theory about the universals and its relation to the realism of Duns Scotus and the nominalism of Ockham. Basing his study on the cod. Borg. 171, f.7vb, of the Vatican Library, the author analyzes first the doctrine of Duns Scotus, secondly that of Henry of Harclay, and lastly that of Ockham. The author concludes that Harclay's theory is intermediary between what he regards as the exaggerated realism of Duns Scotus and the nominalism of Ockham.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Die Lehre von der realen spezifischen Einheit in der älteren Skotistenschule." *Divus Thomas* (Fribourg), XIV (1936), 353-378.

Duns Scotus was considered by his early commentators as the philosopher of the universal, rather than a philosopher of the individual.

KRAUTWIG, NOTKER, O. F. M., *Die Grundlagen der Busslehre des J. Duns Scotus*. (*Bücher augustinischer und franziskanischer Geistigkeit*, herausgegeben von der Arbeitsgemeinschaft "WW," II Reihe: *Philosophie und Theologie*, IV Band.) Herder, Freiburg i. Br., 1938. In 8vo, pp. xii + 170.

In the five chapters of this work the author presents a detailed study of penance according to Duns Scotus. He treats successively of the Subtle Doctor's teaching about sin and justification, penance as an act, penance as a virtue, attrition and contrition, and finally penance as a sacrament.

KRZANIC, O., O. F. M., "La scuola francescana e l'Averroismo." *Rivista di Filosofia Neo-scolastica*, XXI (1929), 444-494. Also published separately in 8vo, pp. 53.

A lucid explanation of Averroism comprises the first part of this study. Then the author considers the principal philosophers of the Fran-

ciscan school such as Alexander of Hales, Roger Bacon, St. Bonaventure, Raymond Lull, and Duns Scotus, and concludes that they differ essentially from the Averroists. The Franciscan school is not imbued with Averroistic doctrine.

- L. S., "Une page de l'histoire du scotisme." *Orient*, XVI (1932), 44-58.

Anthony de Fantis, who in 1530 produced an edition of the *Opus Oxoniense* of Duns Scotus, was not a friar as is asserted by Wadding, John de Santo Antonio, and others.

- LACOMBE, OLIVIER, O. P., "La critique des théories de la connaissance chez Duns Scot." *Revue Thomiste*, XIII (1930), 23-47; 144-157; 217-235.

In his study of Duns Scotus' teaching about knowledge, the author considers the proper object of intelligence according to the Subtle Doctor, the universal and the particular, and, finally, the nature and mechanism of cognition. The author compares Duns Scotus' doctrine with that of other scholastics, e. g., Henry of Gand, Godfrey de Fontibus, Peter de Trabibus, and St. Thomas.

Cf. Father Belmont's criticism of this study, "Le mécanisme de la connaissance d'après Jean Duns Scot" (*FF*, XIII [1930], 285-323).

- LAMPEN, WILLIBRORDUS, O. F. M., *Beatus Joannes Scotus et Sancta Sedes*. Ex. typ. Collegii S. Bonaventurae, Ad Claras Aquas, Florentiae, 1929. In 12, pp. 61.

Originally this study appeared in French under the title, "Le Saint Siège et le Bienheureux Duns Scot" (*FF*, VII [1924], 39-52), and later an Italian translation was made under the following title, "La Santa Sede ed il B. Giovanni Duns Scot" (*SF*, 1925). The author treats of Duns Scotus' reverence towards the Holy See, and of the Holy See's benevolence towards the Subtle Doctor. In the appendix are to be found pontifical documents relating to the Franciscan school beginning with the letter of Pope Leo XIII to Card. Giorgi, the Cardinal-Protector of the Order of Friars Minor.

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- \_\_\_\_\_, "B. Joannes Duns Scotus, Lector Coloniensis." *Collectanea Franciscana Neerlandica*, II (1931), 291-305.

When the Order of the Templars was dissolved, Duns Scotus was sent by his superiors to Cologne to escape the wrath of Philip the Fair, king of France. The author relates the known facts about Duns Scotus' stay in Cologne. It is certain that the Subtle Doctor lived there in 1308, held the office of lector, disputed with the Beghards, and was present at the provincial chapter at which he signed the document granting permission for the erection of a new convent at Ruramunda (Roermond). He died at Cologne on Nov. 8, 1308.

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- \_\_\_\_\_, "De conventu Fratrum Minorum in Ueberlingen et de imaginibus B. Joannis Duns Scoti in ipsorum ecclesia." *AFH*, XXIV (1931), 131-134.

Three portraits of Duns Scotus are found in the convent Church in Ueberlingen. The author gives a minute description of each of these.

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- \_\_\_\_\_, *De causalitate sacramentorum juxta scholam Franciscanam (Florilegium Patristicum, fasc. XXVI)*. Peter Hanstein, Bonn, 1931.

Edition of the texts of Alexander of Hales, St. Bonaventure, Richard of Middleton, William of Ware, and Duns Scotus on the causality of the sacraments.

- LANG, A., *Die Wege der Glaubensbegründung bei den Scholastikern des 14 Jahrhunderts (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters. Band XXX, Heft 1-2)*. Aschendorff, Münster i. W., 1931. In 8vo, pp. xx+261.

In the third part of his work the author treats of Duns Scotus. The Subtle Doctor is not a skeptic, nor a destroyer of the Scholastic system, but rather a founder of a new system based on traditionalism. According to Duns Scotus, the supernaturality of revelation consists not in its supernatural efficient cause but in its supernatural formal cause. The act of faith in Scotus' doctrine is more intellectual than voluntary.

- LEMAY, EDMOUR, O. F. M., "Objectivité de la Connaissance." *Nos Cahiers*, I (1936), 7-19.

This is a presentation of the Scotistic doctrine of the objectivity of knowledge.

- LENNERZ, H., S. J., "De historia applicationis principii: 'Omnis ordinate volens prius vult finem quam ea quae sunt ad finem' ad probandam gratuitatem praedestinationis ad gloriam." *Gregorianum*, X (1929), 238-266.

Duns Scotus was the first to use this principle in proving the gratuity of predestination for glory. In time this became the traditional view. Wrongly some Thomists attributed to Saint Thomas the first application of this principle.

- \_\_\_\_\_, "Ex Schola Scoti?" *Gregorianum*, XII (1931), 466-469.

By various texts drawn from Molina, Petrus of Aquila, O. F. M., Thomas de Sutton, O. P., John of Ripa, O. F. M., Robert Cowton, O. F. M., and James de Asculo, O. F. M., the author demonstrates that the theory that God knows contingent future things by the predeterminate decree of His will, is of Scotistic and not of Thomistic origin.

- LETURIA, PEDRO, S. J., "Mayor y Vitoria ante la conquista de America." *Estudios Eclesiasticos*, XI (1932), 44-78.

John Mayor and Francis de Vitoria defended the legitimacy and the justice of the occupation of America and the Indies not on the grounds that they formed a part of the temporal dominion of the Papacy, but because of the missiological purpose of the occupation. John Mayor edited the *Opus Oxoniense* of Duns Scotus and greatly depends on him in his philosophical and theological theories.

- LITTLE, A. G., "Chronological Notes on the Life of Duns Scotus." *English Historical Review*, XLVII (1932), 368-382.

The author presents a synthesis of the findings of Fathers Carol Balić, Longpré, Callebaut, Pelster, and others about the life and activity of Duns Scotus.

- LONGPRÉ, EPHREM, O. F. M., "La Thèse franciscaine de la Primauté du Christ." *FF*, XIII (1930), 356-371.

Contrary to the opinions of Father Pelster, S. J. (*Theologische Revue*, XXIX [1930], 158-159), the author proves that the Franciscan thesis about the primacy of Christ is in absolute conformity with Holy Scripture, tradition, and ascetico-mystical authors (Bougard, and Card. Deschamps).

Cf. the criticism of this article by Father Castagnoli, "Il Primato del Cristo" (*Divus Thomas* [Piacenza], XXXIII [1930], 623-624).

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\_\_\_\_\_, "La Primauté de Jésus-Christ selon Gaspar Schatzgeyer, O. F. M." *FF*, XIII (1930), 490-493.

To the long list of authors upholding Duns Scotus' thesis about the primacy of Christ, the author adds the name of Gaspar Schatzgeyer, O. F. M. The author quotes at length from Schatzgeyer, O. F. M., *Scrutinium Divinae Scripturae pro conciliatione dissidentium dogmatum* (1522).

N. B. Father Ulrich Schmidt, O. F. M., edited the *Scrutinium* in the *Corpus Catholicorum, Werke katholischer Schriftsteller im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung*, Heft. 5. Münster in Westf., 1922. In 8vo, xxviii-179.

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\_\_\_\_\_, "Saint Laurent de Brindes et la Primauté de Jésus-Christ." *FF*, XIII (1930), 493.

In his *De Incarnationis mysterio ante omnia praedestinato*, Saint Lawrence of Brindisi upholds the Scotistic doctrine about the Primacy of Christ, which, he claims, enraptures the souls of saints and is nothing else but the Christology of Saint Paul.

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\_\_\_\_\_, "S. Augustine et la Pensée franciscaine." *La Vie Franciscaine*, XV (1932), 5-76.

All Franciscan doctors, beginning with Alexander of Hales up to Duns Scotus, followed Saint Augustine. On pages 49-74 of his study, the author analyzes the doctrine of Duns Scotus, who, he claims, does not differ greatly from the earlier Franciscan doctors in his Augustinianism.

N. B. This essay was translated into English by Father Ignatius Brady, O. F. M., and appeared under the title, "Saint Augustine and Franciscan Thought" (*Third Order Forum*, XIX (1940), 388-403; 424-428; 455-459; 490-493). The footnotes are omitted in the English version.

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\_\_\_\_\_, "Le B. Jean Duns Scot, O. F. M., pour le Saint Siècle et contre le Gallicanisme. Paris, 25-28 juin, 1303." *FF*, XI (1928), 137-162. Printed separately: Quaracchi, 1930. In 8vo, pp. 38.

The author discusses Duns Scotus' attitude and activity during the controversy between Philip the Fair, king of France, and Pope Boniface VIII.

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\_\_\_\_\_, "Le Bienheureux Duns Scot, Docteur du Verbe Incarné." *FF*, XVII (1934), 9-37.

This is a reprint of the author's article that originally appeared in *SF*, V (ser. 3, 1933), 171-196.

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\_\_\_\_\_, "La primauté de Jésus-Christ d'après le B. Jean Duns Scot." *FF*, XVII (1934), 37-45.

The author edits the question: "Utrum Christus sit praedestinatus esse Filius Dei," as found in the ms. Ripol. 53, f. 21v-22v, of the Library of Coronae Aragoniae, Barcelona. This question was also published by the author in *SF*, V (ser. 3, 1933), 218-225.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Robert Grossetête et le B. Jean Duns Scot. Le motif de l'incarnation." *FF*, XXI (1938), 1-16.

The author shows the Subtle Doctor's dependence upon his master, Robert Grosseteste, in his theory about the primary motive of the Incarnation.

\_\_\_\_\_, "L'ordination sacerdotale du B. J. Duns Scot. Document du 17 mars, 1291." *AFH*, XXII (1929), 54-62.

In the Old Palace of Lincoln, Alwick Tower, the author discovered a document bearing the list of the clerics ordained on March 17, 1291, by Oliver Sutton, Bishop of Lincoln. Among those ordained is "Father Johannes Dons" with four other friars. The ordination took place at the Church of St. Andrew, O. S. B., at Northampton.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Le commentaire sur les Sentences de Guillaume de Nottingham, O. F. M." *AFH*, XXII (1929), 232-233.

The author describes cod. 300 of the Gonville and Caius College Library, Canterbury. The *Commentarius in 4 Libros Sententiarum* should be ascribed to William of Nottingham and not to Duns Scotus, as is done in the library catalogue.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Philippe de Bridlington et le B. Duns Scot." *AFH*, XXII (1929), 587-588.

In one of the disputed questions contained in the codex Q. 99 of the cathedral library at Worcester are found the words: "Vesperie Bridlington." The two following questions are anonymous. According to the author they are to be attributed to Philip of Bridlington. A marginal note bears the name of Scotus alongside the arguments against the author's thesis. From this the author infers that Duns Scotus was Philip's opponent in the disputation or maybe even his disciple.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Le ms. 194 du Magdalen College d'Oxford." *AFH*, XXII (1929), 588.

H. Coxe claims that ms. 194 preserved in Magdalen College, Oxford, contains an anonymous commentary on the Sentences. The author on the contrary, believes it to contain the *Collationes Oxonienses et Parisienses* of Duns Scotus.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Nouveaux documents franciscains d'Ecosse." *AFH*, XXII (1929), 588-589.

From the documents recently found in Scotland we are able to verify some facts about the fatherland and family of Duns Scotus, as well as determine the date of his birth and some of the events of his early youth.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Le Quodlibet de Nicolas de Lyre, O. F. M." *AFH*, XXIII (1930), 42-56.

The author demonstrates that questions II, III, IV, and VI from the Latin codex 869 of the Vatican Library, inserted by Wadding among the *Questiones Miscellaneae* of Duns Scotus are spurious. They should be attributed to Father Nicolas de Lyre, O. F. M.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Father Bernard de Deo, O. F. M. (1318) et l'Immaculée Conception." *AFH*, XXVI (1933), 247-249.

In his works, Father Bernard de Deo, O. F. M., often dealt with the Immaculate Conception basing his teaching on that of Duns Scotus,

Peter Aureolus, and Hugh of Newcastle. The author edits a selection from Ms. 141 (f. 140 a-b) found in the library of the Cathedral of Valencia.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Robert Grossetête et l'Immaculée Conception." *AFH*, XXVI (1933), 550-551.

Robert Grosseteste upheld the thesis about the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin. His opinion is favorable to Duns Scotus.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Le B. Duns Scot, docteur du Verbe Incarné." *SF*, V (ser. 3, 1933), 171-196.

The author read this paper before the "Katholischer Akademischer Verband" in Cologne, March 22, 1933. Duns Scotus' Christology is recognizable by its three characteristics; namely, in Christ are the highest degrees of glory, grace, and merit; the humanity of Christ is exalted above all; and finally, the Incarnation is the beginning, the center, and the end of all creation.

\_\_\_\_\_, "La Primauté de Jésus-Christ d'après le B. Duns Scot. Texte inédit du ms. Ripoll. 53." *SF*, V (ser. 3, 1933), 218-225.

This article appeared in *FF*, XVII (1934), 37-45, under the title, "La Primauté de Jésus-Christ d'après le B. Jean Duns Scot."

\_\_\_\_\_, "La bannière du B. Duns Scot à la procession de l'Immaculée à Carthagène, Colombie." *SF*, V (ser. 3, 1933), 226-227.

A letter written in Carthage, Colombia, on Aug. 22, 1616, to Paul V is edited by the author. It is preserved in cod. 9956, f. 100r-v, and cod. 4011, f. 100r-v, of the National Library in Madrid. In the letter it is stated that the banner of Duns Scotus was carried in procession in honor of the Immaculate Conception of the Bl. Virgin.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Les 'Triumphes' de Duns Scot dans l'iconographie franciscaine." *SF*, V (ser. 3, 1933), 243-246.

A minute description is given of a picture of Duns Scotus (mm. 225 x 155), found in the second and third volume of the work of P. Emmanuel Perez de Quiroga, O. F. M. This picture is reproduced in the *AOFM*, XXII (1904), 396, where it is erroneously assigned to the sixteenth century.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Le Dogme de l'Immaculée Conception." *Compte-rendu officiel du 2 Congrès Marial National à Lourdes (23-27 juillet, 1930)*. Imprimerie de la Grotte, Lourdes, 1931, pp. 79-102.

The author demonstrates that the great privilege of the Blessed Virgin, the Immaculate Conception, and the theological consequences of this truth have always been taught in the Franciscan school under the leadership of Duns Scotus.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Stand der Skotus-Forschung, 1933." *WW*, I (1934), 63-71; 147-153.

This is a report by Father Marianus Müller, O. F. M., of Father Longpré's speech at Cologne on March 27, 1933. The paper deals with the ultimate conclusions about the authenticity, date of composition, etc., of Duns Scotus' works.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Duns Scotus, der Theologe des fleischgewordenen Wortes." *WW*, I (1934), 243-272.

This is a translation of Father Longpré's article, "Le B. Duns Scot, docteur du Verbe Incarne," which appeared originally in *SF*, V (ser. 3, 1933), 171-196. Father Müller, the translator, reorganizes the material and annotates the article.

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\_\_\_\_\_, "La primauté de Jésus-Christ d'après le B. Duns Scot. Texte inédit du Ms. 661 de Troyes." *WW*, II (1935), 89-93.

The author edits the question: "Utrum Christus sit praedestinatus esse Filius Dei."

N. B. This question was not unedited as the author claims, for Father Balić had included it in his *I. Duns Scoti Doctoris Mariani Theologiae Mariana Elementa* (Sibenici, 1933), on pp. 331-334.

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\_\_\_\_\_, "Nouveaux Manuscrits des Réportations de Duns Scot." *WW*, II (1935), 229-236.

This is a textual study of Ms. H. 13 of the Episcopal Seminary Library of Rottenburg which contains the *De primo omnium rerum principio*, the *II Sent.*, and 6 questions of the *Additiones magnae*.

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\_\_\_\_\_, "Le ms. 139 de la Cathédrale de Valencia. Étude sur les Réportations de Duns Scot." *Revue Néo-scholastique de Philosophie*, XXXVI (1934), 437-458.

The author presents a textual study of ms. 139 of the Cathedral Library of Valencia, which contains the *Commentarium Oxoniense in I and II Sent.*, as well as the *Lectura Completa Reportata in III Sent.* In conclusion the author edits the question (d. 5, q. 1): "Utrum natura divina potuerit assumere naturam creatam."

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\_\_\_\_\_, *Le Regalità di Cristo in S. Bonaventura e nel Duns Scoto*. "Vita e Pensiero," 1936. In 8vo, pp. 35.

Originally this work appeared in French under the title, *La Royauté de Jésus-Christ chez S. Bonaventure et le B. Duns Scot* (Collection "Pax et Bonum." Librairie Saint-François, Montreal, 1927, 2 edns., pp. 44).

The author expounds the teaching of St. Bonaventure and Duns Scotus about the Kingship of Christ.

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\_\_\_\_\_, "The Psychology of Duns Scotus and its Modernity." Franciscan Educational Conference, *Report of the Thirteenth Annual Meeting, Detroit, Mich., 1931*, XIII (1931), 19-77.

After presenting a general outline of the psychology of Duns Scotus, the author gives a detailed account of the Subtle Doctor's teaching about intuition, abstraction, plurality of forms, sensible images, etc. Although the author shows the modernity of Duns Scotus' psychological thought, he points out that this modernity should not be exaggerated. Some of Duns Scotus' fundamental principles in psychology are opposed to contemporary idealism and determinism.

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\_\_\_\_\_, "Psychologie Scotiste et Psychologie Moderne." *EF*, XLVI (1932), 142-174; 258-284.

This is a translation of the preceding article.

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\_\_\_\_\_, "Une Réportation inédite du B. Duns Scot: le Ms. Ripole, 53." *Aus der Geisteswelt des Mittelalters*. Festschrift Martin Grabmann, Münster, i. W., 1935, pp. 974-990.

The author treats of and edits the question: "Utrum possibile sit naturam humanam personaliter subsistere in persona alterius naturae," according to Ms. Rip. 53.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Chronique d'histoire religieuse. La pensée Chrétienne: le mouvement franciscain." *Revue des Questions historiques*, 1931, III Serie, XVIII, pp. 400-410.

The author compiles a Scotistic bibliography from 1917 to 1930.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Das Priesterideal nach dem sel. Duns Scotus." *Sanctificatio Nostra*, 1933, pp. 481-485.

The ideal of priesthood as conceived by Duns Scotus is presented by the author.

LUGER, F., *Die Unsterblichkeit bei J. Duns Scotus. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Rückbildung des Aristotelismus in der Scholastik*. Braumüller, Wien, 1933. Pp. viii+224.

Basing his study on the works of Duns Scotus, the author expounds the Subtle Doctor's teaching about the immortality of the soul. Because of Duns Scotus' refutation of Aristotle's arguments, the author also includes a study of Aristotle's solution of the question.

Cf. Father Philotheus Boehner's correction of this work: "Der Aristotelismus im Mittelalter. Gedanken und kritische Bemerkungen zu einem Buche von Fr. Luger" (*FS*, XXII [1935], 338-347).

LYNCH, K., "De distinctione intentionali apud Mag. Johannem Baconthorp." *Analecia Ord. Carm.*, VII (1931), 351-404.

The author concludes that Baconthorp's distinction is a mediary distinction between the formal distinction of Duns Scotus and the conceptualistic distinction of Peter Aureolus.

MACDONAGH, HILAIRE, O. F. M. CAP., "La notion d'être dans la métaphysique de Jean Duns Scot." *Revue Néo-scholastique de Philosophie*, XXX (1928), 400-417; XXXI (1929), 81-96; 148-161.

The author makes an exhaustive study of the notion of being according to Duns Scotus. Univocity according to the Subtle Doctor has a very different meaning than that given to it in philosophical works of his age. It certainly includes analogy.

Cf. the opinion of Father Belmont anent this study: "Duns Scot Métaphysicien" (*Revue de Philosophie*, XXIX [1929], 405-423). Also see the article of Miguel d'Esplugues: "Duns Escot Metafisic Veritable" (*Criterion*, V [1929], 469-476), conciliating the two views held by Father MacDonagh and Father Belmont.

MCKENNA, A. B., *The Dogma of the Immaculate Conception. Historical development and dogmatic fulfilment*. Catholic University of America, Washington, 1929. In 8vo, pp. xiv+663.

This book was edited in commemoration of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the declaration of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin. Father V. Mayer, O. F. M. Conv., expounds the doctrine of Duns Scotus about the Immaculate Conception.

MAGRINI, E., O. F. M. CONV., "L'Immacolata e il B. Giovanni Duns Scoto." *Voce di P. S. Francesco*, X (1933), 453-457.



The definition of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin is due in large part to the Marian Doctor. Duns Scotus was not only a great doctor but also a great saint.

MAQUART, F. X., "Faut-il reviser les jugements des thomistes concernant la doctrine de Scot." *Revue de Philosophie*, XXXIV (1934), 400-435.

After a close examination of the Thomistic explanations of some of Duns Scotus' principal doctrines, such as the division of philosophy, univocity of being, univocation and analogy, the formal distinction, etc., the author concludes that although the Thomists did not always expound the Scotistic doctrine in all its variations, their judgment was sane and sound.

Cf. Father Belmond's response to this article: "A propos d'une Critique néo-thomiste du scotisme" (*Revue de Philosophie*, XXXVI [1936], 57-67).

MARC, ANDRÉ, S. J., "L'Idée de l'être chez Saint Thomas et dans la scholastique postérieure." *Archives de Philosophie*, X (1933), 1-144.

The third chapter of this study is devoted to the notion of being according to Duns Scotus. In three sections the author deals with the formation of the idea of being, its contents and determination. Finally the author makes a comparison between the positions of the Subtle Doctor and Suarez.

MARCEL, P. CH., "La conception de la Loi chez Duns Scot." *Philosophia Reformata* (Kampen), II (1937), 224-249.

This is a critical study of the concept of law according to Duns Scotus.

MARTINI, ADOLPHO, O. F. M., "Sul Motivo primario dell' Incarnazione." *SF*, VI (ser. 3, 1934), 3-33; 288-318.

In the first part of his paper the author expounds the Franciscan doctrine about the Incarnation. The second part is devoted to a critical analysis of the views of Father Déodat de Basly, O. F. M., about Duns Scotus' doctrine concerning the primary motive of the Incarnation.

MATULICH, SILVANO, O. F. M., *The Heart of the King*. Bruce Publishing Co., Milwaukee, 1935. Pp. 140.

This work is a popularization of the Scotistic doctrine of the Primacy of Christ. In the first part of his work the author treats of God's love for Christ; the second part is devoted to Christ's love for us; and finally, in the third part, the author draws practical conclusions about our love for Christ the King.

MAZZANTINI, C., "A proposito della critica de Gaetano alla 'Distinctio formalis' di Scoto nel 'Commentaria' al 'De Ente et Essentia.'" *Il Cardinale Tomaso de Vio Gaetano nel quarto Centenario della sua morte* (Supplement to the *Rivista di Filosofia Neo-scholastica*). 1935. Pp. 17-19.

The author calls attention to the benign exposition and criticism of Scotistic doctrine concerning the formal distinction made by Cardinal Gaetano in his *Commentary* under the heading "De ente et essentia."

(To be continued)

MAURICE GRAJEWSKI, O. F. M.

St. Francis College,  
Burlington, Wisc.

## FRANCISCANA

### Franciscan Events

A meeting of the executive board of the Franciscan Educational Conference and of the editorial board of *Franciscan Studies* was held at St. Peter's, Chicago, on December 29, 1941. The program for the next meeting of the Conference, which will be held in June or July of this year at Quincy College, Quincy, Illinois, was arranged; and the policy of our quarterly was more definitely formulated. As a result a special letter has been sent to all members of the advisory board of *Franciscan Studies* by the managing editor. Present at the meeting in Chicago were Fathers Thomas Plassmann, O. F. M., Thomas Grassmann, O. F. M. Conv., Sebastian Miklas, O. F. M. Cap., Marion Habig, O. F. M., Theodore Roemer, O. F. M. Cap., and Alexander Wyse, O. F. M., Assistant Director of St. Anthony Guild Press.

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The Fifth National Franciscan Third Order Congress, held in Pittsburgh, Pa., on October 11, 12, and 13, 1941, was not only a Third Order congress but a convention of all the orders of St. Francis in the United States and Canada. It will go down in history as a "Chapter of Mats" because of the hotel strike which made it necessary to lodge the delegates on short notice in private homes and institutions. Despite these inconveniences and difficulties, however, the congress proved to be a very successful one. The addresses presented at the congress are being published from month to month in *Franciscan Herald and Forum*.

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A unique conference was that which met at Garrison, New York, on July 7, 1941, by order of the Very Rev. Theodosius Foley, O. F. M. Cap., Minister Provincial of the Capuchin Province of St. Joseph. It comprised the Capuchin pastors working in the archdioceses of New York and Milwaukee and the dioceses of Brooklyn and Green Bay. The papers presented dealt mainly with the civil incorporation of religious property, the observance of diocesan and religious regulations, and the duties of the religious pastor according to the Code. Cf. *The Jurist*, II (1942), 95.

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The fourth annual Franciscan Educational Institute of the Hospital Sisters of St. Francis, held at the motherhouse near Springfield, Illinois, August 10 to 13, 1941, had for its theme: Franciscans and the Liturgy. Father Juvenal Emanuel, O. F. M., directed the institute, giving a course of eight lectures. A mystery play, *Francis Goes to Rome*, was also staged on this occasion.

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The martyrology of the United States, which has been prepared during the past year by the Most Rev. John Mark Gannon, Bishop of Erie, and a committee comprising members of the religious orders represented among the martyrs, was sent to Rome on September 23, 1941, together with a petition in which His Eminence Dennis Cardinal Dougherty, speaking for all the bishops of the United States, asks that a single cause of beatification and canonization be introduced for all the martyrs of the United States. Of the

111 names which the martyrology lists, 71 are those of sons of St. Francis (70 Franciscans and 1 Capuchin). In addition, four out of five martyrs, who are listed in an appendix because satisfactory historical documents could not be obtained at present, are likewise Franciscans.

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Siena College, Loudonville, N. Y., opened its fifth year with a total enrollment of 882. Of these, 483 are day students and 399 are night students.

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Archbishop Francis J. Spellman conferred the Catholic Action Medal on John Stephen Burke of New York at St. Bonaventure College, St. Bonaventure, N. Y., on St. Francis' Day, 1941. This was the eighth annual award of the medal.

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A weekly radio program sponsored by the priests of the Quincy, Ill., deanery made its debut over station WTAD on January 4, 1942. Most of the priests taking part in the project are members of Quincy College faculty.

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The work of the Catholic Evidence Guild of St. Francis in western Kansas is quite in keeping with an old Franciscan tradition. Established in 1935 by Father Edwin Dorzweiler, O. F. M. Cap., the Guild has been active in the work of "street preaching" for five years.

Originally it was thought that only laymen should be used to bring the Catholic message to the towns of that area. Accordingly a weekly night school was conducted at St. Joseph's College, Hays, to train young men and young women for the task. It was soon discovered, however, that priests had to take a hand in the work, especially because priests commanded a better hearing than laymen. For the last two summers the street preaching has been done almost exclusively by priests.

The summer schedule usually calls for the "evangelization" of four towns, each town getting five meetings, from Monday to Friday. The coming of the Guild is announced by a notice in the town paper, by posters in the stores, and by handbills placed in cars. The response varies a great deal. Some nights the audience is as few as twenty people, other nights it reaches seventy-five or a hundred, on good nights it numbers several hundred. Since the Guild uses a public address system it is difficult to estimate the number of people listening, the audience preferring to remain in their cars or on the front porches of their homes. With few exceptions the attitude of the non-Catholic listeners is a friendly one.

The "pitch" is ordinarily in the city park or on the courthouse lawn or at a street corner. Benches — planks on tile — are provided for those who care to sit down in front of the speaker. The meeting lasts an hour or more, and consists of recorded music, a talk, and a question period. The questions are taken either from the audience or from notes deposited in the question-box set up at a convenient place.

Almost from its start the Evidence Guild of St. Francis has been engaged in radio broadcasting. It began with a monthly broadcast, but since the beginning of September, 1941, it is on the air every Sunday afternoon over station KSAL, which covers an area of about two hundred miles' radius.

The speakers for the "Catholic Evidence Hour" are drawn from the diocesan clergy as well as from the Capuchin Fathers. The music of the program is furnished by various schools and church choirs of the Concordia diocese. The work of the Guild is financed by the Catholic Activities Fund of the Knights of Columbus and by donations solicited through the diocesan Register.

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The various units of the Franciscan Social Study Club existing in the Franciscan Province of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary held a convention at St. Bonaventure High School, Sturtevant, Wis., December 29-30, 1941. Delegates, both Fathers and Clerics, from the various monasteries participated under the leadership of the Very Rev. Isidore Cwikliński, O. F. M., Minister Provincial.

The convention topic was "The Third Order of St. Francis in the United States and in the Assumption Province." The following papers and panel discussions were presented: (1) A Brief History of the Third Order of St. Francis; (2) Papal Pronouncements on the Third Order; (3) The Relation and Obligations of the First Order towards the Third Order of St. Francis; (4) The Present Status of the Third Order in the United States (organization, administration, membership, activity); (5) The Present Status of the Third Order in the Assumption Province (treatment of topic as in preceding paper); (6) Two panel discussions: On Ways and Means of Improving the Quality, Quantity, and the Activity of the Tertiaries of the Assumption Province.

This convention has given added incentive and impetus to the several Franciscan Social Study Clubs in the province. The earliest Study Club was organized at Burlington, Wis., in 1938, to study social problems in the light of Franciscanism. Most recently the Third Order of St. Francis received diligent attention from all the groups, so much so that the Third Order was a natural topic for the First Educational Conference of the Assumption Province.

### Franciscan History

In 1567, three hundred and seventy-five years ago, Friar Girolamo da Pistoia became the first lector, officially recognized as such, in the Capuchin order. In that year the general chapter, wishing to conform the order to the decrees of the Council of Trent, began to organize its studies upon formal lines. They established at Rome a sort of higher seminary for the training of lectors and appointed Girolamo to direct it as first lector general.

Friar Girolamo, a finished scholar, deeply attached to the doctrine of St. Bonaventure, inculcated the Seraphic Doctor's method and teaching as the foundation of the scholastic training of his students. This gave the Capuchin order an intellectual medium completely in harmony with its fundamental idealism. Even today the influence of Girolamo da Pistoia persists in the order in no small degree.

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On March 17, 1667, two hundred and seventy-five years ago, Father Joseph of Angers, O. F. M. Cap., died in northern Nova Scotia. He was

the last of that noble band of Capuchin missionaries of the Paris province who were sent to America by Père Joseph in the 1630's. In 1655 an English expeditionary force sent out by Cromwell entered Acadia and destroyed the thriving Capuchin mission with its many stations as far south as Castine, Maine. The superior, Father Leonard of Chartres, O. F. M. Cap., was martyred; other Capuchins suffered imprisonment and exile. This was just a hundred years before the infamous exile that has been immortalized by Longfellow in his "Evangeline." There was a price on the head of Catholic priests in those days, and the English Crown was willing to pay it. Father Joseph of Angers, however, completely escaped the hands of the persecuting English and continued to work with much fruit among the Indians and Acadians until his death on March 17, 1667. His adventures and escapes are equalled by those of Father Balthazar of Paris, O. F. M. Cap., who returned to Acadia in 1656 disguised as an ordinary settler. Immediately he resumed his labors in some hidden Catholic Indian settlement, and died there in obscurity, after a life of faithful ministrations to the Catholic Indians.

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Morphology, the science of the form and structure in plants and animals, was first expounded by the Franciscan friar, Fortunato of Brescia, 1701-1754, according to M. J. Murray in "Strange But True."

### Franciscans in the News

Father Rembert Kowalski, O. F. M., of the Province of St. John Baptist, has been appointed to succeed Bishop Sylvester Espelage, O. F. M., as vicar apostolic of Wuchang, China. Bishop-elect Kowalski was born in Calumet, Michigan, in 1884, and ordained in 1911. Before going to China, he had been a missionary in New Mexico for fifteen years.

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Father Thomas Plassmann, O. F. M., has been elected president of the Catholic Biblical Association. He has also been reappointed for a second five-year term to the College Council of the New York State Board of Regents.

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Father Theodore Roemer, O. F. M. Cap., was elected second vice-president of the Catholic Historical Association at the twenty-second annual meeting, held in Chicago, December 29 to 31, 1941.

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Father Gerard Greenwald, O. F. M. Cap., recently organized a Newman Club at State Teachers' College, Slippery Rock, Pa. On December 14, 1941, he gave an address to the faculty and students of this college on the subject: "What is an Educated Man?", emphasizing the fact that religion is the foundation of all true education.

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Father Bonaventure Fitzgerald, O. F. M. Cap., and Father Cletus McCarthy, O. F. M. Cap., representing Father Cyprian Truss, O. F. M. Cap., some months ago were presented with silver medals by Mrs. Wendell L. Willkie for their interest in aviation. Father Bonaventure hopes to obtain a license, so he can train Capuchin missionaries to fly their own planes in their missions of Central America, where they are now forced to use chartered

planes. Father Cyprian is a pilot and a member of the Royal Air Force Reserves. The medals which they received bear the image of St. Joseph of Cupertino, O. F. M. Conv., patron of aviators.

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Fathers Maurice Ripperger, Paulinus Kranz, Bertrand Labinski, Kilian Roth, Berard Haile, Prosper Stegmann, John Forest McGee, and Hugo Staud, Franciscans of St. John Baptist Province, celebrated their golden religious jubilee in Cincinnati, September 1.

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Father Emmett McLaughlin, O. F. M., pastor of St. Monica's Negro Mission in Phoenix, Arizona, for the past seven years, is chairman of the Phoenix Housing Authority and president of the Western Association of Housing Authorities. He has directed two large housing projects in Phoenix, one for Negroes and the other for Mexicans, which promise to be self-liquidating. Father Emmett ascribes this success to considerable local control and the use of local material.

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Father Rudolf Harvey, O. F. M., of Siena College, Loudonville, N. Y., preached a series of five Advent sermons in St. Patrick's Cathedral, New York City.

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Father Ferdinand Mayer, O. F. M. Conv., has been appointed professor of Morals and Canon Law at the Carmelite House of Studies in Washington, D. C.

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Father Christopher Ulyatt, O. F. M., chaplain in the Royal Air Force, has been made an officer of the military division of the Order of the British Empire for conspicuous bravery.

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Father Vigilius della Zuana of Valstagna, O. F. M. Cap., who was minister general of the Capuchins from 1932 to 1936, and has been apostolic preacher at the Vatican since 1931, was elected to the episcopal see of Capri in northern Italy by His Holiness Pope Pius XII on May 12, 1941. It is due principally to his zealous efforts that the works of St. Lawrence of Brindisi have been in the process of being published since 1928 and at the present time comprise eight large volumes.

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Father Ottavio da Alatri, O. F. M. Cap., provincial of the Roman province of the Capuchins and a consultant to the Sacred Congregation of the Council, has been appointed Father Vigilius of Valstagna's successor in the office of apostolic preacher. In 1926 Father Ottavio founded and since that time has edited *L'Italia Francescana*, Italian quarterly review of Franciscan history, science, and culture.

The office of apostolic preacher was created by Pope Paul IV about 1556. In 1743 it was entrusted *in perpetuo* to the Capuchins by Pope Benedict XIV. The apostolic preacher belongs to the "family" or household of the Pope, which entitles him to accompany the Supreme Pontiff personally at important ceremonies. Father Maurus of Leonissa, O. F. M. Cap., has written a history of this office, *Il Predicatore Apostolico* (Macioce e Pisani, Liri, 1929),

containing biographical sketches of those who have been apostolic preachers from the time of Paul IV. Father Ottavio is the twenty-ninth Capuchin to hold the office.

### Franciscan Necrology

Father Stanislaus Woywod, O. F. M., outstanding canonist and author, died September 19, 1941. Besides writing a number of books, among which his *Commentary on the Code of Canon Law* is best known, he contributed numerous articles to professional Catholic reviews.

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Father Dennis Engelhard, O. F. M., died on October 13, 1941. He was the first secretary of the National Organization of the Third Order in the United States, and for many years edited *St. Franziskusbote* which has been discontinued and *Sendbote des Göttlichen Herzens und des Hl. Franziskus*, probably the most popular German Catholic magazine in the country.

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Father Theophilus Riesinger, O. F. M. Cap., died at Appleton, Wis., on November 9, 1941. He was nationally known for his missionary work and in particular for his connection with the Earling exorcisms.

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Father Peter N. Nolan, O. F. M., died after a long illness on December 13, 1941. For thirteen years he taught at St. Joseph College, Teutopolis, first as professor, then as subrector and finally as rector; and for twelve years he was master of novices.

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Father Timothy Watson, O. F. M., definator of the Santa Barbara Province and provincial commissary of the Third Order, died suddenly on December 22, 1941.

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Father Charles, O. F. M. Cap., seventy-one years old, recently terminated his forty years of missionary work in India by an unfortunate fall from his bicycle while traveling in the jungle. Despite his advanced age, he worked like a youthful missionary, and frequently made long journeys to visit his people, the Bihls, in the archdiocese of Madras. Virtually every Catholic mission station among them was established by this zealous Capuchin. He also made a profound study of the Bihl language, and translated into it a number of works.

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Sanctes Ascenzi, member of the Third Order, died in Rome in January, 1941, at the age of ninety-two years. He was the last of the Papal Army, having joined the Papal Zouaves when he was nineteen. *Osservatore Romano*, of January 19, 1941, paid the following tribute to him: "Quoad vixit, tamquam probus S. Francisci discipulus, religione et fide erga Ecclesiam et Summum Pontificem spirituque vere franciscano excelluit."

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Raja Francis Xavier Shiam Rikh of Tajpur, the only Catholic among the rulers of the native Indian states and member of the Third Order of St. Francis, died on February 9, 1941, at his residence in Bangalore, British

India. A man of wide culture and a patron of learning, he received the title of Raja, that is King, in 1888; and the title was made hereditary ten years later. Because of ill health he retired in 1920, and lived in Bangalore. He was received into the Church by the Capuchin missionary Father Romulus of Pistoia in 1898. With his brother, the late Kumar Sylvester Shivanath Rikh, who had become a Catholic previously, he built a magnificent church, dedicated to the Sacred Heart, at Tajpur, and endowed it with the revenue of four villages. Cf. *Catholicus*, March, 1941, p. 80; *Analecta Ordinis Fratrum Minorum Capuccinorum*, XXXVI (1904), 12.

### Franciscan Books

Outstanding new works by American Franciscans are those of Father Eligius Weir, O. F. M., on *Criminology*, and of Father Owen Da Silva, O. F. M., on *Mission Music of California*. They will be reviewed in a subsequent number.

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An important historical investigation is that of Father Giuseppe Abate, O. F. M. Conv., entitled *La Casa Dove Nacque S. Francesco D'Assisi nella sua nuova documentazione storica*, a scholarly volume of 764 pages. It has been published as a double number of *Miscellanea Francescana*, July-December, 1940. The author presents the results of extensive researches which he has made over a period of several years on the basis of original documents discovered in the archives of Assisi.

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*Coronado and Quivira*, by Paul A. Jones (Lyons Publishing Co., Lyons, Kansas), a book of 242 pages with 65 illustrations, will prove very interesting to Franciscans because of the important part which the sons of St. Francis played in the expedition of Coronado to Quivira in central Kansas, 1541, four hundred years ago.

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Recent Franciscan books published by Saint Anthony Guild Press are: *Modicum: Twelve Recollection Days for Priests*, by Athanasius Bierbaum, O. F. M., done into English by Bruno Hagspiel, S. V. D., 204 pages; *A Christmas Chronicle*, by Aloysius Horn, a collection of brief Christmas stories from every century, among which there are numerous Franciscan anecdotes, 96 pages; and *The Children's Saint Francis*, by Catherine Beebe, with fifteen drawings by Robb Beebe, 105 pages.

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The popular Third Order manual of prayer and ritual compiled nearly forty years ago by the late Father Vincent Schrempf, O. F. M., *The Tertiaries' Companion*, has appeared in its fifteenth edition (B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis). It brings up to date the indulgences of the Third Order as contained in the official collection of general indulgences known as *Preces et Pia Opera*.

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*Blessed St. Francis* is the title of an attractive, illustrated manual of prayers for Tertiaries published by Father Lucian Gallagher, O. F. M., of New York City, Commissary Provincial of the Third Order; 279 pages.



On the occasion of the Fifth National Franciscan Third Order Congress, held in Pittsburgh, Pa., October 11 to 13, 1941, the national secretary Father Maximus Poppy, O. F. M., published the following: *Program and Souvenir*, 141 pages, containing: (1) Congress Program; (2) The Franciscan Message in Authentic Texts, being the encyclicals of the popes on the Third Order; (3) Ritual and Ceremonial, in Latin and English. Also *The Fruitful Ideal: A Factual Survey of the Three Orders of St. Francis in the United States* (B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis; paper cover, \$1.00; bound, \$1.50), a complete and official Franciscan directory, 226 pages. And *The Third Order Secular of St. Francis in the United States*, reprint of the latter part of *The Fruitful Ideal* (111 pages, 40c).

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*The Musical Masterpiece Series* includes in its album of recordings a masterpiece with which every Franciscan lover of music ought to be acquainted. It is Giovanni Battista Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater*. This religious poem of Jacopone da Todi has been a theme for many composers, among whom are Palestrina, Scarlatti, Boccherini, Rossini, Haydn, Schubert, Gounod, and Dvorak. Pergolesi's treatment is unique. It is significant that the young composer practically wrote this work on his deathbed, when he was not more than twenty-six years old. The *Stabat Mater* was included in the liturgy in the year 1727. Pergolesi composed his work about 1736, and it remains the final contribution of a genius whose life was all too short (1710-1736).

It is rendered by the Vienna Choir Boys accompanied by string orchestra and harpsichord, under the direction of Victor Gombos. Edited by Gustav Schreck, it can be obtained from RCA Manufacturing Company Inc., Camden, N. J. *Musical Masterpiece Series*, M-545 (15357-15359), AM-545 (15360-15362).

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It may be interesting to list the Capuchin books published in Europe recently and given in the *Analecta Ordinis Minorum Capuccinorum*, LVII (1941). The number of pages is added in order to show the size of the book. The January number mentions: Aegidius a Cesena, *Occultismo e Suoi Fenomini* (Alba, 1940, 478 pp.); Albanus ab Hermetschwil (Stoekli), *Anleitung zur Beredsamkeit* (Stans, 1940, 47 pp.); Aloysius Wind a Kaiserstuhl und Albanus ab Hermetschwil (Stoekli), *Grundzuege der Aesthetik* (Luzern, 1940, 81 pp.). In the February number we find Franciscus a Castelfranco, *Sulle Rive del Gange* (Bologna, 1940, 388 pp.); Gabriel a Cassetto, *Una Spedizione Antichivista* (Milano, 1940, 207 pp.); Heribertus a Schelklingen (Jone), *Gesetzbuch des Kanonischen Rechtes, Erklarung der Kanones: III. Band, Prozess- und Strafrecht* (Paderborn, 1940, 613 pp.); Hildebrandus ab Hoogleda, *Michiel De Swaen, sijn Familie en sijn Vlaamische Omgeving* (11 pp.). The March number contains the titles: Albanus ab Hermetschwil (Stoekli), *Der Minnesaenger Heinrich von der Mure* (Wohlen, 1941, 17 pp., ill.); Antonius a Stigliano, *Una Gemma Necosta: Note Biografiche di Fr. Dionisio da Bartiletta, Capuccino* (Bari, 1941, 188 pp., ill. et tab.); Calasancius a Gilze (Joosen), *Beeldsraak bij den Hl. Basilius den Grote* (Nijmegen-Utrecht, 1941, 333 pp.); Franz Hoedl ab

Altoetting, *Die Kapuzinerkirche Aschaffenburg* (Muenchen, 1941, 12 pp., 17 ill.); Heinrich Suso Braun a Riedlingen, *Vom Humor des Christen* (Paderborn, 1940, 75 pp.); Valentinus a Westende (Morel), *Deductio Omnium Veritatis* (Nijmegen, 1940, 12 pp.). In the April number: Cloaldus a Degersheim (Hubatka), *Die Materialistische Geschichtsauffassung, Ihr Recht und Unrecht im Lichte der Scholastik* (Rorschach, 1940, 111 pp.); Franciscus ab Altoetting (Hoedl), *St. Sebastian Augsburg, Kirche und Kloster* (Muenchen, 1941, 12 pp., ill.). In the May number we find: Hubertus a Groessen, *Het Kerkelijke Recht voor Religieuzen* (Roermond-Maaseik, 1940, 351 pp.); Alban ab Hermetschwil, *Zur Sektenbildung des 13ten Jahrhunderts in der Schweiz* (Einsiedeln, 1941, 11 pp.). The June-July number mentions the following: Alban ab Hermetschwil (Stoekli), *Lukas Stoekli, Ein Jungmann und ein Held* (Freiburg, 1941, 64 pp., ill.); Angelus a Carcagente, *Catecismo-Goajiro de la Doctrina Cristiana* (Guajira, 1940, 39 pp.); Bernardinus a Cittadella, *Il Pellegrino di Dio* (Ven. P. Marco d'Aviano) (Venezia, 1941, 177 pp.); Bruno Gossens a Cleve, *P. Maria Antonius aus dem Kapuzinerorden* (Frankfurt a.M., 1941, 80 pp.); Callixtus a Kelheim (Hoetschli), *Das Absolute in Hegels Dialektik: Sein Wesen und seine Aufgabe* (Paderborn, 1941, 186 pp.); Constantius a Mazzarino, *La Dottrina di Teodereto di Ciro sull'Unione Ipostatica delle due nature in Cristo* (Roma, 1941, 183 pp.); Gratianus a Sluis (de Schepper), *De Virtutum altruisticarum Natura, Extensione, et Obligatione* (Roma, 1941, 14 pp.); Ildefonsus a S. Fe, *De Quiescentia Iuris in Viginti Canonica Disciplina* (Roma, 1941, 138 pp.); Basilius a Rubi, *Eroi (Capuccini) di Cristo nella Spagna di Franco* (Roma, 1940, 298 pp.); Octavius a Castelfranco Veneto, *Fuoche che arde Fra. Giuseppe da Villvrazzo, Laico Capuccino* (Venezia, 1941, 191 pp.); Paulus a Friederichsseggen (Berghaus), *Girolamo Jaegen, Banchiere e Mistico* (Firenze, 1941, 64 pp.). The August number has not arrived; but the September-October number lists: David a Portogruaro, *Il Primo Capuccino Venete (P. Paolo Barbieri da Cbioggia, 1480-1531)* (Roma, 1941, 34 pp.); Pelagius a Zamayon, *Hacia Dios, Cinco Lecciones acerca del Itinerario de S. Bonaventura* (Roma, 1940, 242 pp.).

### Franciscan Pamphlets

*Man of Peace: St. Francis of Assisi*, by Marion A. Habig, O. F. M., is a five-cent pamphlet of 35 pages, published by St. Anthony Guild Press at the time of the Pittsburgh Congress of the Third Order.

This pamphlet is another in the series of short lives of Franciscan saints offered by St. Anthony Guild. Others in the series are: *St. Anthony of Padua*, by Isidore O'Brien, O. F. M.; *St. Salvador of Horta*, by Leonard D. Perotti, O. F. M.; *Margaret Sinclair*, by Joseph Stang; *Frederick Ozanam and Social Reform*, by Alfred Williams. Another, now in press, is *Contardo Ferrini*, by Marion A. Habig, O. F. M.

This series may perhaps be regarded as an answer to the appeal for "popular sketches of these glorious followers of our Seraphic Father" which was addressed to the Franciscan Educational Conference by the Very Reverend Theodosius Foley, O. F. M. Cap. (*Report*, 1939, p. xxi).

Additional Franciscan pamphlets published by St. Anthony Guild Press are: *Indulgence of Portiuncula; Why the Third Order of St. Francis?* and *What It Means to Be a Tertiary*, both by Conall O'Leary, O. F. M.; *The Seven Words of Mary*, by Thomas Plassmann, O. F. M. The latter is based on St. Bernardine's Eighth Book of Sermons.

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The two Third Order pamphlets, *Heart o' the Rule*, by Marion A. Habig, O. F. M., and *A Layman's Order*, by Juvenal Emanuel, O. F. M. (Franciscan Herald Press, Chicago), have been transcribed into Braille by three blind Tertiaries of Chicago, the fraternity of which they are members furnishing the funds.

### Franciscan Periodicals

*The National Catholic Almanac, 1942*, compiled by the Franciscan Clerics of Holy Name College, Washington, D. C., and published by St. Anthony Guild Press, is encyclopedic in content and contains much Franciscan information. This is the thirty-sixth year of its publication; and it now has 784 pages. The price is one dollar.

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*Mission Almanac, 1942* (Yonkers, N. Y.) has the character and unity of a book on the missions of the Capuchin Province of St. Joseph. Following a historical survey by Father Theodore Roemer, O. F. M. Cap., there are chapters on the province's missions among Negroes, Indians, in Nicaragua, and in Guam, with a final chapter on the future. The province was given full charge of the Guam vicariate only recently, and had ten Fathers and one Tertiary Brother on the island who have been taken as prisoners to Japan.

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A new Franciscan quarterly is *Chronique Franciscaine du Canada*, of which the first four numbers have appeared in January, May, August, and December, 1941. The individual numbers are valuable monographs on special topics, as follows: The Celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Third Coming of the Franciscans to Canada, 1940; Canadian Franciscans and Medieval Studies; The Second Reestablishment of the Franciscans in Canada; The Life and Letters of Father Jean Dolbeau, O. F. M., Missionary in New France, 1615-1620. Number two contains bibliographies of the two well-known Canadian Franciscan scholars, Father Ephrem Longpré and Father Victorin Doucet.

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The June, 1941, number of *Tertius Ordo*, II, 54-57, contains a report of the secretary general of the Third Order under Capuchin jurisdiction for 1940 with three headings: the work of the general council, the general conditions of the Third Order, and notes on particular provinces. Father Matthæus a Coronata, O. F. M. Cap., also presents the fifth instalment of "De Electione Praefectorum in Sodalitibus Tertii Ordinis" (pp. 58-62). And Father Vitus a Bussum, O. F. M. Cap., makes use of Father Kilian Henrich's article, "The Theology of Tertiariism," which has appeared serially in *Franciscan Herald and Forum*, for his "De Theologia Tertii Ordinis" in the section captioned "Schemata Sermonum" (pp. 63-67).

A noteworthy contribution in the September, 1941, number of *Tertius Ordo*, II, 77-78, are the new statutes for the "Pia Fratellanza," a Tertiary fraternity for secular priests of the diocese of Rome, founded by Cardinal Vives y Tuto and under Capuchin jurisdiction since its inception.

### Franciscan Articles

*Catholic Missions* for October, 1941, pp. 10, 11 and 16, gives its readers a brief history of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide, the ecclesiastical organization which governs the Church in mission lands. Besides the fact that Bl. Raymond Lull, protomartyr of the Third Order, conceived the idea as early as 1287, there are other interesting facts to note. It was under the direct inspiration of Jerome of Narni, O. F. M. Cap., apostolic preacher, that Pope Gregory XV issued his immortal *Inscrutabile Divinae*, which established the Congregation of Propaganda (July 22, 1622). The first Prefect of the Congregation was Cardinal Onofrio, O. F. M. Cap.; and its protomartyr was St. Fidelis of Sigmaringen, O. F. M. Cap.

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The December, 1941, number of *Catholic Missions*, pp. 7-9, and 23, carries a feature article entitled "The Hardest Apostolate." It tells the story of the insidious scourge of leprosy and what the Church is doing for the leprous outcasts of humanity. The article contains a photograph of Father Marcellino of Cusano, O. F. M. Cap., the third friar of the province of Lombardy to die a victim of this self-sacrificing apostolate within the past twenty years. The three friars are: Father Daniel of Samarate (d. May 13, 1924), Father Ignatius of Ispra (d. January 3, 1935), and Father Marcellino of Cusano (d. December 30, 1940).

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Father Anscar Parsons, O. F. M. Cap., has contributed an excellent and enlightening article to *The Jurist*, II (1942), 32-46, entitled, "The Administrative Removal of Local Religious Superiors." *The Jurist*, which has recently celebrated its first anniversary, is a quarterly review published by the School of Canon Law of the Catholic University of America. In his article Father Anscar covers a field in which little has been written and about which Canon Law contains no express regulations. Penal removal from office, as found in the Code, is a clearly defined procedure without legal obscurity. But this is not the case in administrative removal.

The writer, therefore, contends that the major superior should never proceed to administrative removal except for a grave cause and with the advice or consent of his council; and suggests that he follow the procedure which the Church employs in removing pastors from office. Father Anscar cannot be too highly commended for his article since he clarifies a legal obscurity affecting all religious institutes.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*The Sources for the Life of St. Francis of Assisi.* By John R. H. Moorman, B. D. Foreword by A. G. Little. (Manchester University Press, 1940. Pp. xvi+176. Bibliography and index.)

During the last fifty years research scholars have discovered and edited many Franciscan documents. In the present volume Mr. Moorman concentrates on the most vital of the early documents, those which concern the life of Francis himself.

In general these documents may be divided into two groups: the first, written by St. Francis; the second, written by others, but about St. Francis. In classifying the writings of St. Francis the author departs somewhat from a previous arrangement made by Boehmer. Similarly he differs slightly (in Chapter II) from Fr. Cuthbert's reconstruction of the *Regula Primitiva*, which he prints in full (Latin and English).

The greater portion of the book is devoted to a discussion of the second group of documents. The author presents lengthy investigations of Celano's *Vita Prima S. Francisci*, the *Scripta Leonis et Sociorum Ejus*, the compilations dependent on the *Scripta Leonis* (i. e., Celano's *Vita Secunda*, the *Legenda Antiqua* of Perugia, the *Speculum Perfectionis*, the MS. *St. Isidore 1/73* [Lemmens], and the MS. *Little*), Bonaventure's *Legenda Major S. Francisci*, and the *Fioretti*.

Mr. Moorman does not criticize the text of these documents, for he considers that to be established beyond reasonable doubt. Relegating "lower" criticism to the background, he advances to "higher" criticism, namely, a discussion of the history of these documents; as well as the relation of these sources one with another.

Certainly the nugget in the book is the author's evaluation of the *Legenda Trium Sociorum*. Hitherto critics were wont to consider Celano's *Vita Prima* as the original and the *Legenda 3 Sociorum* as the copy, giving to the first the date 1229 and to the second that of 1246. Mr. Moorman, however, believes that the dates are inaccurate. After comparing the two documents he maintains that "the narratives of the *Legenda 3 Sociorum*, if not the actual sources used by Celano for his *Vita Prima*, yet represent an earlier tradition upon which he worked" (p. 74). As far as the author can discover, the *Legenda 3 Sociorum* was originally a dossier of documents which was in the hands of Celano when he wrote the *Vita Prima*. So competently does Mr. Moorman present his case that Dr. Little writes in his foreword: "A new idea like this has to be subjected to a rigorous examination before it can be accepted, but at first sight it does seem to me to meet many of the difficulties presented by the *Legenda 3 Sociorum* and it may well prove to be the true solution and a discovery of first-rate importance."

There are two questionable statements in the book, neither of which have important bearing on the main thesis. On page 28 we read: "In Ugolino the Poverello found a man of strong purpose and great force of character who was able, from the very first, to bend the will of the saint to his own." It is surprising to read on, for the author recounts two incidents where Ugolino evidently failed. And on page 141 we read: "But the fact remains

that he [Bonaventure] never really understood the Franciscan ideal." The arguments presented by the author have some point but do not justify his statement. There is a distinction between the ideal which Francis realized in his own person and the ideal which is morally possible for a fraternity to realize, which ideal Bonaventure stabilized.

The comprehensive and scientific treatment of the *Legenda 3 Sociorum* problem is typical of the treatment of all the problems in the book. The author couches the whole in a swift and lucid style, making for easy and even delightful reading. He strikes a *rapprochement* between his enthusiasm for a new discovery and a healthy conservatism. For this reason Dr. Little assures us that even though Franciscan scholars subject it to the severest tests, this book will receive universal acceptance and remain substantially unharmed.

KEVIN SMYTH, O. F. M. CAP.

*St. Anthony's Monastery,  
Marathon, Wis.*

*Francis of Assisi, Apostle of Poverty.* By Ray C. Petry. (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1941. Pp. ix+199. Bibliography and index.)

The author of this scholarly study on the poverty of St. Francis is Assistant Professor of Church History in the Divinity School of Duke University. Dr. Petry, in the Preface, says his purpose is "to interpret the full significance which he [St. Francis] attached to poverty," something, he says, which "no study of scholarly comprehensiveness has undertaken." St. Francis was concerned not with the economic aspects of poverty, nor, indeed, only with the surrender of material things, but with that of immaterial ones as well. The primary object of the author, as the Preface informs us, is "to let Francis live and speak for himself in the atmosphere and within the forms of thought and language suitable to his world."

That Dr. Petry succeeds in accomplishing his purposes, at least in so far as a book of less than two hundred pages on so expansive a subject will allow, can hardly be denied. His use of practically all available primary sources as well as a good deal of pertinent secondary material, places his work among the more critical and scholarly studies on the Saint. In these days of more exact historical criticism, work of this nature is especially valuable for an effective application of the Franciscan ideal to our own social environment.

The development of the book follows closely the plan of setting forth all the demands which Francis' ideal of poverty made. At the outset the author presents the gospel ideal of poverty, carefully selecting an imposing array of texts to discover the mind of Christ and His early disciples on the subject. Catholic Biblical criticism, however, must take exception to the author's assumption that James and I Timothy are second century writings.

There follows a study of the application of the gospel ideal through the centuries. The picture of widespread corruption, especially among the clergy of the thirteenth century, is certainly not a pleasant one; and while it is in the main true, it appears overstated in places. Generalities may often become dangerous in the hands of too literal historians. St. Francis is made to stand

out in very bold relief against the broad background of "eleven centuries of mingled acceptance and rejection, by Christians, of Jesus' life of renunciation" (p. 29).

In the second chapter of the book Dr. Petry takes up the question whether Francis encouraged aspirations to knowledge among the friars: his conclusion, quite satisfactorily presented, is in the negative. In this he cites, among others, Gilson and P. Gratien who disagree with the Felder thesis. This chapter reveals the author's excellent knowledge of source material in establishing the relation of the poverty ideal to things of the mind, habitation, furniture, clothing, use of animals, etc. Francis exchanged these things for purified affections, for the keener appreciation of natural beauty and "the consuming ecstasy of divine love." But he never became the judge or critic of the existing social system.

Much might be said of the succeeding chapters which are as well written as they are spiritually and historically sound. Throughout we see Francis making a complete renunciation by means of which he can fully dedicate himself to God, to Christ and His Kingdom. In the chapter treating of Francis' appreciation of the Bible and Sacred Liturgy, the intimate and living association of the Saint with them reveals unusual penetration and perception. Francis' wholly orthodox attitude towards the Church is clearly brought out. "Francis was preëminently a Catholic individual" (104). It is a false interpretation which makes Francis the purveyor of an ideal in opposition to the Church. Sabatier came at last to abandon the false view which he mistakenly derived from the *Speculum Perfectionis*.

There is little to criticize adversely and much to praise in this study on St. Francis, Apostle of Poverty. There are certain things to which we spontaneously take exception, such as the author's unwillingness to accept on historical grounds the physical Stigmata, or the criticism of alleged eccentricities of temperament in the Saint. But if these limitations may be laid to the more natural perspective of one not of the Faith, his work still has much to recommend itself.

An extensive bibliography and general index are valuable additions to the volume, and the page notation of the text makes the book useful in general Franciscan reference work. The price is \$3.00.

VIANNEY THIBEDAU, O. F. M. CAP.

St. Lawrence College,  
Mount Calvary, Wis.

*Grey Eminence. A Study in Religion and Politics.* By Aldous Huxley. (New York: Harper Bros.)

In writing this biography of Father Joseph, the right-hand man of Cardinal Richelieu and his associate in all his disastrous and much-hated policies, Aldous Huxley has gone deep into a problem of tremendous concern to all Catholic thinkers and scholars, as well as to Catholics in general: the question of the conflict between those things which are to be rendered to Caesar and those which belong to God. Huxley has treated this problem in a much more subtle fashion than it is usually treated, not only because his subject

is peculiarly interesting and complex, but also because Huxley himself has a far better understanding of Christian mysticism than even many Catholics.

The Capuchin Father Joseph was a mystic and a politician. The combination of mystic and politician is a dangerous one, and the results in this case were policies that made Joseph's name hated almost as much as Richelieu's. Huxley has called this powerful man back from the oblivion of the ages in order to study his tragedy in relation to the problems of our own troubled times.

One of the results of this study is that the Capuchin has been done the justice of a fair statement of his case. The priest was a man who was following the rule of his order and certain disciplines leading to mystical contemplation, and who had already progressed in some measure towards saintly perfection, when he allowed himself to be turned aside from that life to join in with Richelieu's power-politics. The turning was all the more complete, as the temptation was subtle, because by so doing he thought he was acting for the good of others.

The mystic failed to realize the danger of the one tragically mistaken notion that underlay all his political ideas: the superstition that it was God's will that France become, at any price, the leader of all the Christian nations and ultimately lead a unified Christendom on a Crusade against the Turks. He never questioned for a moment that this was God's will. That it was the product of his own upbringing and cultural background, he never realized until it was too late; and by that time he had helped Richelieu to keep the Thirty Years War going until the bitter end by subsidizing Protestant armies to fight against Catholic Austria, so that France might be aggrandized by the weakening of her enemies!

Thus, in the name of God, this man, who could have been a saint, not only encouraged a slaughter that drained all Europe of money, reduced its population by many millions, and caused such starvation that in certain parts of Germany the demented people sank to eating human flesh, but at the same time genuinely held back the cause of religion. Surely his mentality is one to challenge investigation, and this profound study is a fine attempt to explain it.

Although Huxley is not a Catholic, he analyzes the reasons for this tragedy in the light of the classical principles of St. John of the Cross. This analysis is a penetrating discussion of the psychology of mystical experience, and the solution is one wholly in accord with Christian teaching.

God demands of His saints a complete renunciation of their will to His will in all things. The nearer the Christian comes to this complete renunciation, the more subtle are the temptations that threaten his whole venture, as anyone who has read St. Teresa of Avila well knows. With Father Joseph, the temptation was to objectify in France the ambition he thought he had conquered in himself, and to call the glorification of France God's will. Thus, he succumbed, for all his spirituality, to an ambition which he would have heartily disavowed. St. John of the Cross repeatedly utters the strongest warnings to those who have advanced in the way of perfection, not to be deceived into disguising their own will as God's will. Father Joseph failed to read that warning, or at least to heed it. His tragedy is the result.



The reason why he was not able to save himself from the temptation, Huxley thinks, lay in the system of mental prayer he was following, one devised by the Capuchin Benet of Canfield. Huxley criticizes that system from the point of view of St. John of the Cross. His argument is complex, and the Catholic reader must not mistakenly believe that he is attacking discursive and imaginative meditation on the Passion of Christ, as such. His thesis is that in cases where the proficient has progressed to the state of infused contemplation, discursive meditation ceases to be an aid and becomes a hindrance. According to St. John of the Cross and all the great mystical Doctors of the Church, the mystic reaching the state of infused contemplation is ready for the direct experience of God. Since no human discourse, no human imagination, no act of which our mind alone is capable, can show us God as He is in Himself, it is fatal for the proficient to prefer, once he has reached this state, his own discursive reasoning about God, to a condition of complete calm in which God tells him what He Himself wills, as He wills, and how He wills. The system of Benet of Canfield, which Father Joseph followed, required the subject, even beyond the point where infused contemplation should by all of the usual tokens begin, to force himself to meditate discursively and imaginatively according to his own mental powers. This, Huxley argues, fortified Joseph's self-will, and made it so much the easier for him to delude himself in the greater temptation, to identify the glorification of France with a divine plan.

There was, moreover, another element in Benet's system which contributed equally to the problem of Father Joseph. This was the notion that one could, if he was holy enough, participate in all kinds of worldly activity, and not suffer from the contact. Benet had developed a definite technique for doing this which he called "annihilation" of the world in the will of God. Father Joseph reasoned that he could participate in all the activities of a political system — corrupt and Machiavellian though it was — with perfect safety to his soul and his perfection, if he merely "annihilated" all he did in God's will. Not until this notion had brought with it tragedy, did he realize that he was accountable for all he had done in God's name. And by that time he was on his deathbed.

Why has Aldous Huxley, who is best known for his satirical novels, chosen His Grey Eminence as the topic for a biography? The book, unquestionably brilliant and important, and, to Catholics, his most interesting, comes as a surprise from the pen of a man who has always been looked at askance in orthodox circles because of his earlier work. But Huxley has been moving steadily forward in a sort of conversion in the past ten years. He has become interested in every phase of mysticism, and his interest is so profound and intelligent that he is now one of the best-informed men writing on that subject today. Nor is it a mere intellectual curiosity, for Huxley is searching desperately for an answer to the problems of our time. This book fits into his search because, although it is a study of a man who failed in both religion and politics, it illustrates Huxley's belief, which all Christians must share, that the world can be saved only by saints.

THOMAS J. MERTON

*St. Bonaventure College,  
St. Bonaventure, N. Y.*

*Whom Do You Say? A Study in the Doctrine of the Incarnation.* By J. P. Arendsen, D. D., Ph. D., M. A. (Cantab.) 2nd edn. (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1941. Pp. 308.)

This work of Dr. Arendsen is the first in a new series of eight Catholic masterpieces which Sheed and Ward are now publishing for the purpose of forming a Catholic mind. It is not strange that a work on the Incarnation should be the first of the series, for this truth is fundamental in the Christian and Catholic faith, and it is extremely important that Catholics have a correct understanding of it. Nor is it strange that the publishers have chosen the work of Dr. Arendsen, for it is truly a masterpiece in the field of popular presentation of Catholic theology.

*Whom Do You Say?* was written several years ago and, as the author states in his Preface, it was intended for the educated laity who may not be able to read Latin treatises, as well as for priests and students of theology who may wish to reread their theology in the vernacular. Its extremely clear exposition of the essential doctrine, with the purely speculative problems relegated to a subordinate place, admirably adapts it for the understanding of the educated Catholic layman. Its manner of presentation is at once expository and inspirational, so that it not merely gives a better understanding of the most important truth of our faith, but also enkindles greater love of the God-Man. Its attractive style makes it easy reading, and few will want to put the book aside before finishing it.

Since the entire series of eight books, which is being published at the rate of one a month, is intended for earnest study by groups or individuals, each book will be introduced by a tutorial instruction for the guidance of the user. This guide for reading and study is divided into four parts, distributing the subject-matter of the book over four weeks, for it is intended that each book be read within the space of a month. The tutorial instruction for *Whom Do You Say?* arranges the subject-matter under the four headings: (1) Our Lord's human character; (2) Our Lord's claim to divinity; (3) What does the truth "Christ is God" mean?; (4) More about this dogma. Great benefit would no doubt be derived from following this program, but it seems to envision too much for a month's study for the average group. Study clubs could profitably devote a much longer period to the study of this work on the Incarnation.

There is no doubt that Dr. Arendsen's work deserves the highest commendation. In presenting a few strictures upon it, we do not want to detract from its very evident merits. In the first place, we are of the opinion that the author should have added exact references to his many citations from Sacred Scripture. This would be a minimum of scientific apparatus which would not be out of place even in popular theology and would be very helpful to the more studious Catholic.

Furthermore, in an excellent chapter on "Christ's Divinity in the Catholic Church," the author makes a statement which appears somewhat misleading. He says that "St. Paul had never seen Christ in the flesh, and the thousands of millions of Christians that lived since never saw Christ with mortal eyes" (p. 117). He undoubtedly means that St. Paul never saw Christ in His mortal flesh, and would admit, as Catholic scholars generally

hold, that the Apostle really saw the risen Christ on the road to Damascus. St. Paul claims for himself the right to be called an Apostle, because he saw Christ (I Cor. 9:1), and implies that the apparition he had of Christ was no different from that enjoyed by many others after the Lord's Resurrection (I Cor. 15:5-8). Certainly there is a difference in this respect between St. Paul and the many millions of other Christians.

Lastly, there is a certain feeling of disappointment that must come to every Franciscan as he reads the section on the Immaculate Conception. In a final paragraph the author speaks of an "abstruse" controversy in the Middle Ages between the Thomists and Scotists concerning this dogma. We would not blame him, had he omitted all mention of the controversy in his work of popular theology; but since he chose to mention it, he should have given due credit to the Scotists for clarifying the misconceptions concerning the doctrine. He leaves the impression that Scotus and his school did no more in this respect than the Thomists, though actually it was the Subtle Doctor's teaching of *redemptio praeservativa* that removed the principal obstacles to the acceptance of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. Tanqueray (*Synopsis Theol. Dogm.*, II, 20th edn., p. 817), who is not usually favorable to Scotus, admits at least in a footnote, that it was principally due to him that theologians changed their mind concerning this doctrine. Another theologian, F. Diekamp (*Katbol. Dogmatik*, II, 6th edn., p. 362), who bases his theology upon the teachings of St. Thomas, does not hesitate to say that "to the Franciscan William of Ware and even more so to his disciple Duns Scotus belongs the glory of having clearly presented the Immaculate Conception in the right sense and of having based it upon a scientifically solid foundation." Further confirmation of our point is scarcely necessary, but let us add a word from another volume of popular theology, that of Pohle-Preuss (*Mariology*, 5th edn., p. 58): "Had the Subtle Doctor and his school done nothing else for the Catholic cause than to defend and successfully establish this dogma, they would deserve a place of honor in the history of medieval theology."

DAVID BAIER, O. F. M.

*St. Bonaventure Seminary,*  
*St. Bonaventure, N. Y.*

*The Feast of the Presentation of the Virgin Mary in the Temple: An Historical and Literary Study.* By Sister Mary Jerome Kishpaugh, O. P. (Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1941. Pp. 159.)

Sister Jerome is to be congratulated for her scholarly work on the feast of the Presentation of Mary, and certainly merits the appreciation of all students of liturgy. For most of us a good portion of the data concerning the Presentation-cult which she has assembled, would be simply inaccessible. In evaluating the material at hand, she is fair in her judgment, and ascribes to her sources no greater importance than they actually possess. Her acknowledgment, at the beginning of her work, of valuable aid accorded to her by eminent scholars, adds weight to her conclusions without detracting from her own scholarship.

The author begins her study by a consideration of the apocryphal works, which contain the account of Mary's Presentation in the Temple of Jerusalem, and provide the basis of the Church's cult of Mary under this title. The earliest of these is the *Proto-evangelium of James*, which probably dates from the second century. Of the other sources, which borrow from the *Proto-evangelium* and give some additional details, the most important are the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*, supposed to have been translated from the Hebrew by St. Jerome, and the *Gospel of the Nativity of Mary*, found among the spurious writings of Jerome.

In the literature of the East the earliest reference, of which the authenticity is certain, to the story of Mary's Presentation is from Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis towards the end of the fourth century. The earliest indisputable evidence of a feast on November 21 to commemorate the Presentation of Mary is found in the sermons of St. Germanus I, Patriarch of Constantinople (d. 730), though there is good reason to believe that it existed much earlier.

In the West, the Presentation, especially Mary's miraculous ascent of the fifteen steps of the temple (from the *Pseudo-Matthew*), was a popular theme of Christian art since the sixth century. The story of the Presentation as recorded in the apocryphal sources, is not given in any literary work until the tenth century, and there is but scattered reference to it during the centuries immediately following. The feast of November 21, under the name *Oblatio Sanctae Mariae in templo domini cum esset trium annorum*, makes its first appearance in England before the Norman Conquest (1066), and continues to be observed under that title also after the Conquest. This observance of the feast in England, as well as that in Hungary somewhat later (about 1200 under the title *Repraesentatio Sancte Marie*), seem to be due to Greek influence.

Outside of Hungary, there is no certain evidence of the existence of the feast of Mary's Presentation on the continent until 1372. It was kept in this year on November 21 in the Franciscan Church of Avignon through the influence exerted upon Pope Gregory XI by a layman, Philippe de Mézières, who had knowledge of the Eastern practice from personal experience. The Mass and Office of the feast were composed by Philippe himself. The observance of this feast of Our Lady spread rapidly, as manuscript Breviaries and Missals of the fifteenth century show. It was introduced into the Roman calendar by Sixtus IV in 1472, abolished in the revision of the Roman Breviary under Pius V, and finally restored as a double feast by a decree of Sixtus V on September 1, 1585. A few years later Pope Clement VIII raised it to the rank of major double and gave it its present Office.

These are the general facts concerning the feast of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin as gathered from the dissertation of Sister Jerome. In the Preface she informs us that an edition of Philippe de Mézières' Office of the Presentation is now in preparation. It will certainly be heartily welcomed.

Though impressed in general by the scientific manner in which the author presents her subject, may we point out an error in one detail. In speaking of the restoration of the feast of Mary's Presentation by Sixtus V, the author mentions the influence of the "young" Jesuit, Francisco Torres.

His dates, according to the *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, are 1504-1584. She refers to the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, which states that Torres pleaded for the reinstatement of the feast, not, however, that he pleaded with Pope Sixtus. Torres was not a young man when the feast was removed from the Roman calendar by Pius V in 1568, and he died on the feast itself about six months before Sixtus became pope. Sixtus may have been influenced by arguments presented earlier by Torres in favor of the antiquity of the feast, though of that we cannot be sure; or at any rate we cannot verify it from sources accessible to us. It seems that a movement for the restoration of the feast was already under way during the last years of the pontificate of Pius V (cf. Baeumer, *Geschichte des Breviers*, p. 480). Though Sixtus may have been influenced by this movement, which Torres also probably helped to further, it appears to us more likely that the Pope independently, as a Franciscan, felt inclined to restore this feast of Mary, which had been adopted into the Roman calendar over two hundred years previously by another Franciscan Pope, Sixtus IV, and which had had a place in the calendar of his order almost from the time of its introduction at Avignon in 1372.

DAVID BAIER, O. F. M.

*St. Bonaventure Seminary,  
St. Bonaventure, N. Y.*

*Thomistic Psychology: A Philosophic Analysis of the Nature of Man.* By Robert Edward Brennan, O. P., Ph. D. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1941. Pp. xxvi+401.)

This work consists of three Books: Book One (one chapter, 33 pages) The Psychology of Aristotle; Book Two (eleven chapters, 295 pages) Aquinas; Book Three (one chapter, 29 pages) The Moderns. A Bibliography of 25 pages (actually the author's documentation), and an Index complete the work. Each chapter is followed by a reading list, for the most part of St. Thomas, and an unusual feature called "clarifications." These latter paragraphs comprise about 60 pages of the work. Book Two which is the major portion of the work contains in order the following chapter heads: The Psychology of Aquinas; Man: the Integer; The Vegetative Life of Man; The Sensitive Knowledge of Man; The Passions and Actions of Man; The Intellectual Knowledge of Man; The Volitional Life of Man; The Powers of Man; The Habits of Man; Man: the Person; The Soul of Man.

The author's purpose in Book One is to show that "the psychology of Aquinas is rooted in the teaching of Aristotle." This he does by presenting the Aristotelean doctrine in an arbitrary systematic order, from a perspective derived "from the perspective which Aquinas himself reveals in his commentaries on these [Aristotelean] texts."

In Book Two, as can be seen from the chapter heads, Dr. Brennan provides a logical exposition, well documented, of the Angelic Doctor's thought. In Book Three he states: "My purpose in writing this epilogue is not to give a history of modern scientific psychology . . . rather I should like to suggest that the principles of the Thomistic synthesis provide a basic set of tools for working over and measuring the value of the data of experi-

mentation and scientific observation. More specifically, I have in mind to show how the fundamental views of Aquinas on the nature of man can be linked up organically with the work that is being done today in our psychological laboratories."

From this brief quotation of purpose it becomes apparent how adequate and satisfactory must be Dr. Brennan's latest work, both for teachers and students of Thomistic psychology. The serious student of St. Thomas cannot escape the frequently recurring desire to know the precise debt owed to Aristotle by the Angelic Doctor, and notwithstanding the availability of good critical texts and commentaries of Aristotle, the task of clearing up such matters is always a difficult one. Dr. Brennan's brief and clear exposition of Aristotle's psychology, supported as it is by texts, represents more labor and scholarship than many might suspect. So too, does Book Three present a *rapprochement* which both teachers and students of Thomism are sure to appreciate. A feeling of security comes from the knowledge that the author knows whereof he writes. Book Three while it is more familiar matter, has a special value because Dr. Brennan presents the doctrine in a most orderly manner, and — what is more important — adheres closely to the Angelic Doctor's own statements. St. Thomas is permitted to speak for himself.

This work of Father Brennan is accompanied by a fourteen-page Introduction by Dr. Mortimer J. Adler. For what it says about psychology in general, and Dr. Brennan's work in particular, this Introduction deserves attention. There is confusion among contemporary scientific psychologies, thinks Dr. Adler, and these same systems of psychology quarrel with philosophy. The confusion is due to unsatisfactory solutions of the problem of what constitutes the subject matter of psychology and the quarrels come from and are directed towards the bad philosophies which came after Descartes. In Dr. Adler's opinion whatever the quarrels may be, there can be no getting together until all agree that "the subject matter of psychology be properly conceived as man . . . his nature and its powers, habits and acts. Where the province of psychology is thus conceived, the philosopher makes his contribution by defining the essence of man, setting forth the essential distinction of his powers, analyzing the nature underlying his habits and acts; the scientist makes his contribution by investigating the phenomenal correlations among human operations, and discovering thereby the material and accidental determinants of his habits and powers." Wherefore, this present situation calls for a unified psychology, where psychology will be regarded as a field in which scientific findings and philosophical principles collaborate, "a body of knowledge, well-defined in subject matter and unified by a right ordering of philosophy and science." In Dr. Adler's opinion Father Brennan's book achieves this unity of psychology; and for that reason, he says, however much improvement may come with the future, the edifice of psychology will not be moved from these foundations laid by Father Brennan in this work.

It might be noted, however, that Dr. Brennan is a most ardent Thomist. All his works are evidence of his desire to promote the thought of the Angelic Doctor. But there are certainly numerous Catholic thinkers, who are unwilling to identify the truth of the School with even Dr. Brennan's interpretation of St. Thomas. Such scholars may view *Thomistic Psychology* as

an inclination to depart from a noble and necessary Aristotelean and Thomistic principle which Dr. Brennan mentions: the correct criterion must be the truth of the matter rather than authority. To attempt to make St. Thomas the one medieval thinker who best solved every problem of psychology, might possibly lead to what may be labelled "a philosophy of words." Be this as it may, Dr. Brennan's latest work will be read with interest.

BERTRAND J. CAMPBELL, O. F. M.

*St. Bonaventure College,  
St. Bonaventure, N. Y.*

*Elements of Logic and Formal Science.* By C. West Churchman. (Chicago, Philadelphia, New York: J. B. Lippincott Company. Pp. x+337.)

The science of Logic which seemed to be in a state of stabilization and saturation since Aristotle, has been in a state of flux and development for several decades. The impetus came from modern Mathematics, and the result is the so-called modern or symbolical Logic. The aim and purpose of this modern Logic is at least two-fold: first, to study the relation of Mathematics and Logic and to develop Mathematics from Logic; secondly, to axiomatize Logic after the pattern of Mathematics. A Neo-Scholastic, relying only upon the customary textbooks, finds himself in an almost hopeless condition with regard to this modern Logic, and consequently he ignores it (that which, of course, is a bad method of dealing with a real problem) or he even despises it (and that seems to be an equally dangerous and foolish attitude). It is true that modern Logic is in close friendship with all kinds of Positivism, Behaviorism, and Scepticism; but this relation of friendship does not formally imply dependence. On the contrary, two facts ought to caution us and to prevent us from a wholesale condemnation of a Logic which irresistibly will become the Logic of the future. First, Aristotelean Logic enters the new building and is susceptible now of deduction and axiomatization. Furthermore, modern Logic with its sense for a real formalism is in closer relation to the comparatively pure Logic of real Scholasticism of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries than to the more or less corrupted Logic of the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries which our so-called neo-scholastic textbooks largely represent. Cf. the optimistic article of my teacher, Prof. H. Scholz: "Die mathematische Logic und die Metaphysik," in *Phil. Jahrbuch* 51 (1938) p. 291; Scholz published last year an *Ontology* on the basis of modern Logic. Our task, therefore, must be to collaborate and to purify this Logic from accidental elements. Polish Catholic Logicians, among them the Dominican Fr. Bochenski, give us an example of the undertaking of this real "Catholic" task.

We are very glad to recommend a book which can be very helpful as a *first* approach to modern Logic. This book is truly Aristotelean in its general outlines, but it also leads gradually from the Aristotelean Logic and Theory of sciences to modern Logic and Axiomatics. The contents of this introduction are best indicated by giving the titles of its eighteen chapters: Deductive Science, The Logic of Propositions, General Exposition of the Traditional Logic of Classes, The Deductive System of Aristotelean Class Calculus, Development of the Traditional Logic, Application of Logic, Proofs of Theo-

rems, Logic and the Philosophy of Formal Science, Philosophy of Non-formal Science, Fallacies, The Logical Paradoxes, Conflicts between Logic and Other Sciences, Exposition of the Boolean Algebra, Abstract Nature of the Boolean Algebra, The Aristotelean and the Boolean Algebras, Problems of Symbolic Logics, Examples of Deductive Systems.

The book is written in clear and understandable language and makes use of an easily accessible symbolism. Many instances and problems for exercises accompany the chapters, so that the reading of this work on Logic is not only useful but pleasant as well.

A Catholic philosopher, of course, has to make certain reservations, but those concern mainly epistemology and especially the crucial problem of evidence and the interpretation of the sense of axioms. I doubt whether the emphasis laid upon the Boolean Algebra is justified, as it does not seem to be the commonly used symbolism. Furthermore, it seems that the real founder of modern Logic as far as the sentential calculus is concerned, was Frege, as Quine in his *Mathematical Logic* justly remarks. Frege's name is not even mentioned.

If the reader of this excellent book should want to study modern Logic more closely, we should like to recommend to him W. van Orman Quine, *Elementary Logic*, or Traski, *Introduction to Logic*.

PHILOTHEUS BOEHNER, O. F. M.

St. Bonaventure College,  
St. Bonaventure, N. Y.

*A Manual of Ceremonies for Minor Ministers.* By Method C. Billy, O. F. M. Conv. (Rensselaer, N. Y.: St. Anthony-on-Hudson, 1940. Pp. 23.)

*A Manual of Ceremonies for Major Ministers (Subdeacon).* By Method C. Billy, O. F. M. Conv. (Rensselaer, N. Y.: St. Anthony-on-Hudson, 1941. Pp. 36.)

The first of these two booklets describes the ceremonies which must be observed at sacred functions by minor ministers, specifically, the thurifer, the acolytes, and the torch-bearers. It is based on the *Caeremonialis Ordo Romanus ad usum Totius Seraphici Ordinis Minorum S. Francisci Conventualium*, and is intended particularly for the use of students in seraphic seminaries and of the friars in their own churches and oratories, but there is no reason why it would not also be useful elsewhere. It contains directions for the servers at all the different types of Masses (low, high, solemn, conventual, Requiem), for the minor ministers at Benediction, and for the choir assisting at the conventual and solemn Mass.

The second booklet is based on the *Caeremoniale Episcoporum*, the Roman Missal, and decrees of the Congregation of Rites, and is intended for anyone who must serve as subdeacon at divine service. It is very comprehensive, embracing the rubrics for the subdeacon at all important functions during the year, that is, at solemn Mass on different occasions as well as at solemn blessings and processions. It is very helpful and may well be recommended to seminarians who have been advanced to the subdiaconate. It is also useful to the busy priest who is called upon to act as subdeacon at



divine service from time to time, and wishes to refresh his memory in a hurry concerning the rubrics which are to be observed. Another similar booklet may undoubtedly be expected soon for the use of deacons.

DAVID BAIER, O. F. M.

St. Bonaventure Seminary,  
St. Bonaventure, N. Y.

*Pensées and The Provincial Letters (The Modern Library)*. By Blaise Pascal.  
(New York. Pp. xvi+620.)

The publishers of this translation make the claim on the wrapper that this is the first time these two works "are made available in a single, complete and unabridged volume." The translation of the *Pensées* was made by W. F. Trotter; *The Provincial Letters* were translated by Thomas McCrie.

As translations go, both are excellent pieces of work, although we can well imagine that the translator of the *Pensées* encountered far more difficulty than did the translator of the *Letters*. The latter, however, has dealt successfully with theological terminology, while the former has found readable English in which to put the roving ideas of one who is often called the most profound thinker of the seventeenth century.

Pascal's claim to immortality lies in the *Letters*, written anonymously, by which he drew popular attention to a controversy then raging between his Jansenistic friends of Port Royal and the relatively new Society of Jesus. The biting sarcasm of the original *Letters* which delighted seventeenth-century France has been preserved in the translation.

The controversy has long since been forgotten, and the French of the seventeenth century has been so modified that it has become almost a language apart from modern usage. The student interested in the history of Jansenism should be equipped to read the *Letters* in the original; and seekers after truth can find works enough of modern thinkers written in a strain more accommodated to modern lines of thought without recourse to a translation of Pascal.

The editors of The Modern Library have as their goal the publication of the great masterpieces of literature of the past—and a worthy goal it is. But Blaise Pascal spent much of his time and overtaxed energy on a controversy which is now as dead as those sleeping in the once famous cemetery of St. Medard.

VICTOR MILLS, O. F. M.

St. Bonaventure College,  
St. Bonaventure, N. Y.

### Books Received

INSTITUTE FOR THE SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF CRIME, JOLIET, ILLINOIS:

*Criminology: A Scientific Study of the Modern Crime Problem*. By Eligius Weir,  
O. F. M.

JOSEPH F. WAGNER, INC., NEW YORK:

*Youth Guidance*. By Kilian J. Hennrich, O. F. M. Cap.

RUMBLE AND CARTY, ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA:

*Correspondence Course in Catholic Doctrine*. By Rumble and Carty.

## THE LITURGICAL PRESS, COLLEGEVILLE, MINNESOTA:

*Family Life in Christ.* By Therese Mueller.

## G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS, NEW YORK:

*Irving Babbitt: Man and Teacher.*

## PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY, NEW YORK:

*The Pierpont Morgan Library, 1936-1940.*

## CATECHETICAL GUILD, ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA:

*Ring Up the Curtain.* By Cecilia Mary Young.

## CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, NEW YORK:

*Ransoming the Time.* By Jacques Maritain.

## ST. ANTHONY GUILD PRESS, PATERSON, NEW JERSEY:

*Up from the Mines.* By W. Patrick Donnelly, S. J. *The Demon Preacher.* By Columban Duffy, O. F. M. *A Christmas Chronicle.* By Rev. Aloysius Horn. *Not Even Death: A Book of Poems.* By Theodore Maynard. *Four Girls and Other Poems.* By Sister M. Madeleva. *A Talking of the Love of God.* By Mother Mary Dominica, S. H. C. J. *The School of Love.* By Rev. John A. Kane. *Hugo's Praise of Love.* By Joseph McSorley, C. S. P. *Salve Regina: Meditations on the Life, the Titles and the Praises of Mary.* By Rev. Joseph E. Snyder. *Modicum: Twelve Recollection Days for Priests.* By Athanasius Bierbaum, O. F. M., and Bruno Hagspiel, S. V. D. *Child with Folded Hands.* By Frederick Cook. *The Children's Saint Francis.* By Catherine and Robb Beebe. *Easy Notation Hymnal.* By Rev. William E. Campbell. *The National Catholic Almanac, 1942.* By Franciscan Clerics of Holy Name College, Washington, D. C.

